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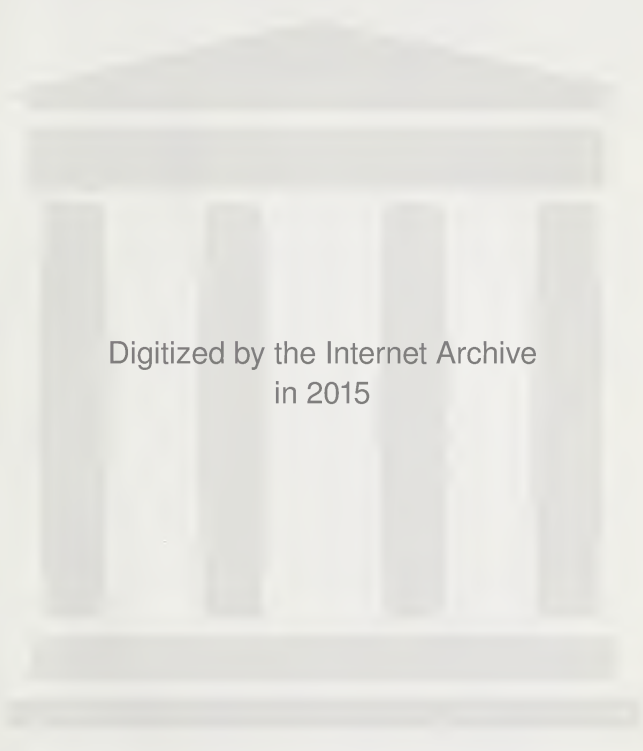
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VOL. XII., No. 1.

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1919

GENEALOGY COLLECTION
THE

HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON

VOL. XII. No. 1

1417093

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON

MEETINGS OF THE SESSION 1917-18 HELD AT THE HOLBORN
RESTAURANT, HIGH HOLBORN, W.C.

FIRST ORDINARY MEETING, *Wednesday, November 14, 1917.*
GEORGE BEAUMONT BEEMAN, Esq., President, in the
Chair.

THE Minutes of the Annual Meeting held on May 9 were read
and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :

Mrs. Randolph Berens, 14 Prince's Gardens, S.W. 7.

Mrs. Robertson, Balgownie, Haulgh, Bolton.

Robert Edgar de Grenier de Fonblanque, Esq., Dunston,
Petworth, Sussex.

Leo Stormont, Esq., junior, 60 St. George's Road, S.W. 1.

Mr. William Minet, F.S.A., read a Paper on 'The Editing
of a Register.'

SECOND ORDINARY MEETING, *Wednesday, January 9, 1918.*
GEORGE BEAUMONT BEEMAN, Esq., President, in the
Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on November 14, 1917, were
read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :

Howard Coote, Esq., Stukeley Park, Huntingdonshire.

Miss Constance Thackeray, Southbury, Guildford.

A Paper entitled 'The Swiss and the League' was read by
Mr. Maurice Wilkinson, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

THIRD ORDINARY MEETING, *Wednesday, March 13, 1918.*
 GEORGE BEAUMONT BEEMAN, Esq., President, in the
 Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on January 9 were read
 and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :

J. W. Meyjes, Esq., 42 Blackheath Park, S.E. 3.
 Miss A. Horatia Jones, Hazelbridge, Chiddingfold, Surrey.

As a Fellow :

The Library of the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian
 Church, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.

Mr. Charles Poyntz Stewart, F.S.A.Scot., read a Paper
 entitled 'The Huguenots and Louis XV.'

THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, *Wednesday,*
May 8, 1918. GEORGE BEAUMONT BEEMAN, Esq.,
 President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on March 13 were read and
 confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :

Arthur Vivian Hopkins, Esq., 208 Lambeth Road, S.E. 1.
 Francis Henry Hill Guillemard, Esq., M.D., F.L.S., Old Mill
 House, Trumpington, Cambridge.

Miss Alice MacDonald, 48 Hurlingham Road, S.W. 6.
 Frederick William Arthur Moutrie, Esq., 22 Pembridge
 Crescent, W. 11.

The Annual Report of the Council was read as follows :

*Report of the Council to the Thirty-fourth Annual General
 Meeting of the Huguenot Society of London.*

The Council has to report that during the past year the
 Society has lost eleven Fellows by death and five by resigna-
 tion. Thirteen new Fellows have been elected during the
 present Session, thereby reducing the net loss to three.

Of the deaths recorded, one calls for special mention in this Report, that of Mr. William Chapman Waller, F.S.A., by reason of the many and valuable services he had rendered the Society during the twenty-eight years that he had been a Fellow of it. In addition to contributing several papers to the ordinary meetings of great value and the result of his long researches in original sources, Mr. Waller edited or assisted in editing several of our register series of volumes, and he has left material for yet another volume in the extracts he made from the Court Minute Books of the Weavers' Company of London. Mr. Waller had been at one time a Vice-President of the Society and had served several terms as a Member of Council, a position which he held at the time of his death in July last.

The deaths of two Fellows who have given their lives to the country during the present war have been notified to the Society during the past year, those namely of Mr. Leonard William Henry Lamaison and Mr. Richard Charles Denman, both of whom have fallen in action.

The Treasurer's accompanying statement of account shows an income for the year 1917 of 452*l.* 14*s.* 7*d.* and an expenditure of 405*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* The invested funds of the Society consist of 1,136*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* in 5 per cent. War Stock 1929-1947, 105*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.* in the same Stock representing the Special Browning Fund, and 100*l.* in 5 per cent. Exchequer Bonds as a temporary investment.

The Council has again the pleasure to convey the Society's most grateful thanks to its Honorary Officers, its Secretary, Colonel D. G. Pitcher, and its Treasurer, Mr. A. Hervé Browning, for the devoted services they have continued to render it. Thanks are also due to Mr. Harley M. Grellier and Mr. A. L. Foucar for their services as Honorary Auditors to the Society for the past year.

Owing to the Hôtel Windsor, the Society's meeting-place for many years, being required by the Government in the summer of last year, fresh quarters had to be found for the dinners and meetings of the present Session. The Council is pleased to report that satisfactory arrangements were made

BROWNING FUND SPECIAL ACCOUNT (CASH ACCOUNT).

From January 1 to December 31, 1917.

1917.		1917.		CR.		£ s. d.	
Dr.				By Income Tax (1916-17) on Deposit Account No. 2			
To Balance on December 31, 1916	.	£	s.	d.			
" Interest on 5 per cent. Exchequer Bond 1920 ' B ;	.	11	6	8			
" Interest on 5 per cent. War Stock 1929-1947	.	1	18	6		0	13
		2	12	7		15	4
		<u>£15 17 9</u>				<u>£15 17 9</u>	

Examined and found correct.

HARLEY M. GRELLIER.
ALEX. FOUCAR.

April 24, 1918.

NOTE.—The Society stands possessed of a sum of £1136. 18s. 6d. Five Per Cent. War Stock 1929-47, representing the investment of the fees of those Fellows who have elected to compound, and Miss L. Portal's legacy of £200; £105. 5s. 3d. in the same Stock (Browning Fund); and £100 Five per Cent. Exchequer Bonds (temporary investment).

A. HERVÉ BROWNING, *Treasurer.*

with the Holborn Restaurant, and that, notwithstanding the serious inconveniences attending any such arrangements at the present time, the meetings have been well attended and the interest taken by the Fellows in the papers read well maintained.

The Council much regrets that it has as yet been able to issue no publications in respect of the past year, but the shortage of both labour and material in the printing trade makes this delay at present inevitable. Nevertheless, the annual number of the *Proceedings*, being the concluding part of Vol. XI, has been out of the editor's hands for some weeks and and should very shortly be ready for issue. The editor of the volume of *Denizations and Naturalizations in England and Ireland, 1701 to 1800*, though himself engrossed with other labours occasioned by the war, is making steady progress with this important work, and it should be through no fault of his if its publication cannot be completed before the end of the present year.

The enormously increased cost of printing at the present time, together with the trade difficulties already mentioned, will make it necessary to reduce very greatly for the time being, if not to suspend altogether, the printed output of the Society. In the meantime, however, much progress is being made with the transcription of the registers still unprinted of the refugee French Churches in this country, so that as soon as the conditions are again favourable the printing of them may be put in hand and the Society may hope to make up the leeway which the war has in this respect temporarily brought about.

Mr. William Minet moved that the Report be adopted, but that it be referred to the Council, in view of the practical impossibility under present conditions of continuing the regular printing of the Society's publications, to consider the formation of a Publications Suspense Fund to be applied to the printing of the material which in the meantime will have accumulated, so soon as conditions revert to the normal. He suggested that a certain sum out of the Society's income,

based on the average cost of printing during a number of past years, should be set aside each year to form this fund.

Mr. R. St. A. Roumieu seconded, and after some discussion the motion was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

The ballot was taken for the Officers and Council for the ensuing year, with the following result :

Officers and Council for the year May 1918 to May 1919.

President.—George Beaumont Beeman.

Vice-Presidents.—The Right Hon. The Earl of Radnor ; Sir James Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I. ; The Rev. George William Walter Minns, F.S.A. ; Sir William Wyndham Portal Bart., F.S.A. ; Reginald St. Aubyn Roumieu ; Charles Poyntz Stewart, F.S.A.Scot.

Treasurer.—Arthur Hervé Browning.

Honorary Secretary.—Colonel Duncan George Pitcher.

Members of Council.—The Rev. William George Cazalet ; Thomas Colyer Colyer-Fergusson ; Robert William Dibdin ; Hugh Charles Sowerby Dumas ; Robert Alfred McCall, K.C. ; William Henry Manchée ; William Minet, F.S.A. ; Carl Schelling, L.D.S.R.C.S.Eng. ; The Rev. Louis Verdier ; Allan Ogier Ward, M.D., M.R.C.S. ; Maurice Wilkinson, F.R.Hist.S. ; Wyatt Wyatt-Paine, F.S.A.

The President then read his Address as follows :

ADDRESS TO THE THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
OF THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON, BY GEORGE
BEAUMONT BEEMAN, PRESIDENT.

MY first duty in this Address is to record the names of those Fellows of the Society of whom death has deprived us during the past session.

OBITUARY.

The death of MR. LEONARD WILLIAM HENRY LAMAISSON in action in France in 1916 should have been recorded in last year's obituary. He was connected with the Huguenot families of Lamaison and Rousselet, and joined the Society in 1900.

MR. JOHN COURROUX, who died on May 26, 1917, joined the Society in 1903 and was for several years a very regular attendant at our meetings. He had served on our Council.

In May of last year we lost also MR. HENRY LAFONE who had been a Fellow of the Society since 1889 and was connected with the Huguenot families of Lafone, Marchant, and Chassereau.

The death of Mr. WILLIAM CHAPMAN WALLER, on July 28 last, robbed us of the services of one of our most helpful Fellows. He had been a Fellow since 1889 and contributed to our Meetings several most valuable Papers embodying some of the results of his long researches into unexplored sources of history. His Paper on the Early Huguenot Friendly Societies may be especially instanced in this connection. In addition, Mr. Waller did much work for us in the editing of our Register series, collaborating with Mr. Minet in the production of the registers of the Guînes and La Patente, Spitalfields, churches, completing the editorial work of Mr. Moens on the latter's death on the Register of the Dutch Church at Colchester, and editing by himself the register of the Thorpe-le-Soken French Church. He had also completed a volume of extracts from the records of the Weavers' Company which as soon as circumstances will permit we hope to print. Mr. Waller served for many years on our Council and had been at one time one of our Vice-Presidents.

MR. GEORGE LOCKHART RIVES, LL.D., who died on August 19, had only been a Fellow of the Society since 1915, and being resident in America had had no opportunity of attending our meetings. He was a most distinguished man and had held the high office of Secretary of State in the United States. He had graduated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and in this kingdom formerly held the Norfolk estate of the Huguenot family of Aufrère of which he was a descendant, and of which our late President has told us so much. He was also co-heir with Mr. Kemys-Tynte of the ancient barony of Wharton (1544), but laid no claim to that peerage, which was awarded to Mr. Kemys-Tynte last year.

MR. CHARLES HAWKSLEY, M.Inst.C.E., died on November 27

last, having been a Fellow of the Society since the first year of its foundation. He was connected with the family of Durrant or Durant.

The war has deprived us of yet another Fellow in MR. RICHARD CHARLES DENMAN, who joined us so recently as 1915. He was a second-lieutenant in the Grenadier Guards, and was killed in action on December 1 last. He claimed connection with a number of Huguenot families, including de la Fontaine, Du Port, de Beauvoir, Gott, and Ligonier.

MRS. WILLINK, who died on February 10, was also connected with many Huguenot families, among them Ouvry, Delamain, Garnault, Romilly, and Roget. She had been a Fellow since November 1885.

MR. PARKE MAYHEW PITTAR died on March 3 last, having been a Fellow since 1896.

MR. CHARLES NORRIS, F.R.G.S., who died on March 23 at the advanced age of eighty-four, was one of our few remaining original Fellows, and was a frequent attendant at our meetings. He was also a Director of *La Providence* and was connected with the family of Grellier and the many other Huguenot families with which that family has intermarried.

We mourn the loss of each of our old Fellows, but especially of Mr. Waller, who had the interests of our Society so much at heart.

I think we ought to express our thanks once more for the valuable and interesting papers which have been read to us in the course of this Session.

The first paper on 'The Editing of a Register,' by Mr. Minet, is not only useful to those who have to refer to the registers of the French churches, but it was most entertaining to those who had the privilege of hearing it.

Mr. Minet is always successful in making his papers interesting even to those who have the least acquaintance with his subject, and on this occasion he had a subject which lent itself to a light treatment suitable to those who have had no occasion to use the Registers for purposes of reference, and to a more serious treatment suited to those who had been engaged in the work of elucidating some problem of family

history or seeking for some other items of interest, of which many lie buried in these volumes. Certainly, those of us who have occasion to use the Registers for purposes of reference will read Mr. Minet's paper with much interest when it is printed.

The second paper read by Mr. Wilkinson dealt with a very little known or studied period. 'The Swiss and the League' is a paper prepared with great care from sources not generally available, and, though not dealing primarily with Huguenot history, yet is interesting and valuable to those students who have the time and opportunity to seek in some of the side issues of great movements for those flashes of illuminating historical facts which often make clearer some point which a broader treatment of history leaves obscure.

The third and last paper of the Session was written and read by our late President, Mr. Poyntz Stewart, who has increased the debt which the Society owes him for his interesting and valuable contributions to the *Proceedings*. The paper dealt with a period which we are all apt to overlook, although really the events which led up to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes were now slowly and silently bearing the inevitable fruit which when fully ripe resulted in the French Revolution.

I must now leave this pleasant subject of expressing the thanks of the Fellows to those who have worked for the Society during the past year. I have been looking over the objects of the Society and although we are gradually printing the Registers of the various French churches and have had many interesting papers on topics connected with the history of the Huguenots in France and as refugees in England, yet there is much work still for the Society to accomplish.

In the early days it was suggested that perhaps some Fellows could make a point of endeavouring to elucidate the history of some of the less known French Protestant churches. There are still two churches, at least, of which only the existence is known, and should any of our Fellows be resident in the neighbourhood of Chester or Edinburgh it would be very desirable if they could search the Corporation records or

the parish records with a view of obtaining some information about these two churches. Then there were settlements of refugees at Whitby and Hartlepool, although it is not certain whether the refugees at these places were in sufficient numbers to warrant the formation of churches. At any rate so far as I know, there is no record of a minister of a French Protestant church at either place. Probably, however, a careful search among the local records would yield some information which would make the history of the two obscure settlements somewhat plainer. Possibly there were other towns where larger or smaller parties of the refugees were settled, and of which the names have been lost. If therefore any Fellow who is engaged in research work in any city, town, or village should come across any references to such a settlement it is to be hoped that the information will be sent to the Society. In this connection I may point out that sometimes in the parish registers a note is added to an item stating that the person referred to in the entry was 'a French Protestant' or 'a poor French refugee' or something of a similar nature. All such entries would be useful and might assist in clarifying some point in connection with the settlement of the refugees in England. I have a shrewd idea that some small settlements were broken up owing to local feeling of antagonism to foreigners especially Frenchmen, and that as they probably lasted for a very short period all remembrance has been lost of their existence.

This antagonism was very general and gave rise to many false and malicious reports concerning the refugees. As we consider the large sums of money that were collected for the relief of the poor French Protestants we are apt to think that the English people received our forefathers with open arms and hearts. This was far from being universally the case, as may be seen from a sermon preached by Rev. W. Smythies, curate of St. Giles, Cripplegate, on March 28, 1688. He says :

'There were a great many objections against them [*i.e.* the French Protestants] when they came first amongst us, such as, There was no suffering for their religion and they were not such as they pretended ; but the contrary hath been so long apparent,

that I hope those, who either made or spread these false reports, are ashamed of it. It is a dreadful sin for men, instead of relieving, to reproach the servants of God in the time of their suffering.

'Are there then [he continues] no objections now? Yes, and if you please I will give you an account of them that you may see what pitiful excuses men will find, instead of money to relieve the greatest objects of Christian Love and Charity.'

He then proceeds to capitulate the following objections, to all of which he makes suitable reply.

- (1) They are not true Protestants, because this Brief is granted to them.¹
- (2) Their garb is unsuitable to their necessitous condition.
- (3) There are many dissenters who partake not of the public charity among them.
- (4) There are Papists among them.
- (5) Many of them can live without our charity.
- (6) They hinder our trade and take away the bread of our own poor.

I think this extract from Mr. Smythies' sermon has more than a merely temporary interest, for it shows that human nature, cupidity, and jealousy are much the same in all centuries. Lest you may think that he was dealing with merely a passing phase, I am going to inflict upon you some further extracts, but before doing so I wish to call your attention to a little incident which took place in the House of Commons when a Bill was introduced which would have made provision for a general naturalisation of the French Protestants resident in this country. The Member for Bristol rose to move the rejection of the Bill, and said: 'Mr. Speaker, I beg to move that we kick this Bill out of the House and that then we kick every Frenchman out of the kingdom.' This will serve to show that even after the lapse of some twenty-five years there was still some measure of ill-feeling existing against the refugees.

¹ This sermon was preached in aid of the collection under the Brief granted by James II. The people were afraid that James was about to make the Roman Catholic Church the State Church of England.

However, lest you should think that the objections so well answered by Mr. Smythies were a new development, I will now read a short extract from a pamphlet entitled 'The Deplorable State and Condition of the poor French Protestants commiserated,' printed for Richard Janeway, 1681—that is to say, some six or seven years earlier.

'There are many who raise a groundless fear and jealousy amongst us lest these distressed French Hugonets should come over with a design of betraying the Nation. But these surmises will seem very ridiculous if we weigh all the circumstances concerning them. As First the manner of their arrival in such small vessels as none but men in the greatest extremity would hazard themselves in. Secondly what sort of persons they be that come over, whether they be not of all sorts as well Women and children as men, and whether they are not mostly men of profession and trade and so such from whom we have more reason to expect advantage from their Trades than danger from their arms. Thirdly whether there are not as many arrived in other Protestant countries as here and Fourthly whether such a conspiracy could possibly be concealed amongst so many thousands who are arrived in all parts. Fifthly and lastly whether it stands not to reason that the same Popish Fury which banisht them from France should not, as well to conceal their own cruelties and to have them discredited, likewise maliciously and out of design raise all these calumnies against them.'

In the same year (1681) a pamphlet was printed entitled 'The Present State of the Protestants in France.' I shall take one or two extracts from the preface.

'The enemy has been so industrious as to waylay these poor people and whilst they will not suffer them to live in France, they endeavour to prevent their subsisting anywhere else.

'Amongst some, they are represented as enemies to the Religion established. However they profess the same faith and desire to be esteemed as brethren. Amongst others, they are made to appear a mixed multitude, part Protestant, part Papist; whereas it is as impossible for any number of Papists to thrust themselves in amongst them undiscovered as it would be for a black man amongst whites.

'But that nothing may be wanting to augment the misery of these poor fugitives, it is suggested to the common people that they come to take the bread out of their mouths. Which objection if we consider strictly according to interest comes not to any weight or consideration. Many of the manufactures they bring over are such as we had not before and by consequence of the greatest and most exceptional benefit to us. Others, though not wholly new, yet bring so great improvement to those we already had of the same kind, that they do, in a manner, create a new manufacture.'

But I will not quote more of this preface lest I weary you, and I think there is sufficient to show that the coming of the Refugees raised a very great amount of opposition which would easily account for some of the smaller settlements disappearing within a short period and leaving so little trace that they will only be discovered by painstaking search by those who are prepared to sift the proverbial haystack (of local records) on the chance of finding the needle (of French Refugee settlements).

These malicious reports continued to circulate and were revived in slightly varying forms from time to time. Thus in the preface to the second translation of 'The Persecutions and Oppressions of the Protestants in France' issued in 1707, we find that Mr. Reneu thought it necessary to deal with the objections then raised against the Refugees. He says :

'It is said, The loss of these people is but inconsiderable to France since they are only the poorer and meaner sort that go away.

'This is a notorious falsehood, for on the contrary there are, in general, only those who had money or credit that could be at the vast expense necessary for their escape ; which has been computed to amount to, at least, 200,000*l.* sterling in specie paid to the masters of English ships, merely for the passage of those that came over into this country. And as to Quality there are come hither, a Duke and Marshal of France, some Generals of Armies, a Duchess, several Counts and Countesses, Marquises and Marchionesses, Judges of Sovereign Courts, Viscounts, Barons, Noblemen and Gentlemen, Ladies and Gentlewomen, men of learning, Lawyers, Physicians, substantial Merchants, Tradesmen of all sorts, many Captains, Masters, Mariners, Gardeners and husbandmen, besides the

great number of Ministers. These are the persons who are said to be but of little consequence. Some of the Refugees have endeavoured to subsist both by liberal and mechanic Arts and husbandry, but above all by their mutual trade and correspondence with their acquaintance and friends that have settled in other countries, which has much increased all the revenues of this Kingdom, which has by their means procured a real and lasting advantage. Of this the House of Lords were pleased to take notice in the words following :

‘“ As to the Foreign Protestants, there is great reason to give them all just encouragement, as they have brought among us many New Manufactures, and they have carried them so far, that of late years, we have exported to the value of a Million of Woollen Manufactures more than was done in King Charles’s reign before they came among us.”

‘ But [he continues] if anyone would contest the matter further we shall leave their justification to the landlords of those houses that have been built since their coming over. The rents of which, by a modest computation, cannot amount to less than £80,000 yearly, and these landlords will affirm, without a doubt, that their Refugee tenants are no ways prejudicial to the nation. Moreover those of them that subsist of themselves, relieve, to the utmost of their power, such of their brethren as are necessitous, and readily pay both parish and national taxes.’

We, who are the descendants of these Refugees, have no doubt that they well repaid this country for the shelter from persecution which was afforded them, but I think it is well to call to mind that, for many long years, their enemies endeavoured to stir up thoughtless public opinion against these poor outcasts. Not that I would say that all the Refugees were perfect, for I have no doubt that every charge, that I have mentioned as having been brought against them, had some basis, in isolated instances. Church history is always sad reading, and the records of the French churches show plainly that notwithstanding all the sufferings through which their members had passed there were a few individuals in whom human nature, always frail, threw off for a time the bonds of religion and so brought disgrace not only upon themselves but upon their fellow-members also. The great enemy

of souls is ever ready and able to make those around point the finger of scorn at all religion owing to the failures of a few of its adherents, and it would appear that he had great success for a time in rousing adverse feelings towards the Refugees.

I have one more extract to read before I finish.

In 1734, Benjamin du Plan, the Deputy-General of the Reformed Churches of France to the Protestant Governments of Europe, writes :

‘I have visited persons here (in England) who are reported to be very wealthy and inspired with zeal for God. After having explained the condition of our Churches and their needs, I have been told distinctly and flatly that missionaries were in the habit of consuming all the money they collected. I know not if I changed countenance but I felt somewhat irritated and replied firmly that I advocated the interests of the Church from love and not from necessity, that I already had sufficient, thank God, not alone for myself but to help a neighbour. These words completely changed the tone and bearing of my discourteous, unrefined millionaires and there is one who in order to atone for his fault has given evidences of his charity whenever I have afforded him the opportunity.’

In other letters he laments that his reception was cold and unkind. Some declined to help on the ground that the sufferings of the French Protestants were caused by their own mistaken policy, while others dismissed him without wasting too many words on him.

Far be it from me to suggest that the English people as a whole were influenced by these false reports, but we may fairly assume that they had some currency, otherwise it would not have been necessary to refute them so often. Undoubtedly the Refugees received much kindness and hospitality from the people of England. It may therefore seem unfair to revive the memory of these slanders, but I think that the extracts I have read may help us to realise some of the difficulties of the French Protestants in settling in this country and above all they may show the reason that some of the settlements were dispersed, which was the point from

which I started. These failures were perhaps also assisted by purely local conditions and may have been due, in part, to the undoubted fact that the earlier Refugees, for many years, retained the hope of returning to their own homes in France.

In conclusion I would like to add that, in addition to the places I have already mentioned, very little is known of the settlements at Ipswich and Taunton, so if any Fellow should take a vacation in the neighbourhood of any of the places I have mentioned and has any spare time, perhaps I may be forgiven for suggesting a subject for investigation which may be interesting to the investigator and useful to the Society.

The Editing of a Register.

BY WILLIAM MINET, F.S.A.

DURING the thirty-two years of its existence the Society has applied much of its energy to the publication of the Registers of the various churches which our forefathers founded in this the land of their refuge, nor is the task yet completed. For that portion of it which remains we now have the experience garnered from what has been done; it may therefore be opportune to sum up that experience for the help and guidance of those who shall take on themselves to complete the task. If I offer myself as somewhat of an expert in the matter, my presumption may find some justification in the fact that, with the help of others, I have been responsible for four of our registers, have assisted in two more, and am now engaged on others. I propose then to lay down the main principles to be followed by the editor of a register, illustrating their application and the difficulties attending it by reference to those our Society has already published.

Two main principles stand out pre-eminent, first we must make, or cause to be made, a faithful transcript from the original; second, we must so order this transcript in its printing that the most unskilful shall easily find therein what he seeks. Stated thus categorically these two principles seem quite clear, but their application is not such a simple matter; for indeed, applied in its utmost rigour, any principle, however good, is apt to lead to dangerous results. That this is the case will be best illustrated by example. The apostrophe which in French marks an elision was but little used by the scribes of those days; we therefore get such places as Danduze, Duzes, Dorpierre; these one of our editors, with a too strict adherence to the first principle enunciated above, not only prints so, but indexes under the letter D only.

Thus the inquirer who seeks to learn what refugees came from Anduze, Uzès, or Orpierre risks being misled.

Constantly in practice it will be found that each of these principles has to be sacrificed a little to the other ; and again I take an example to show how this has to be done.

We have a man coming from Noirt, so given in the original, for I am not now dealing with misreadings. Later on in the register the same man is from Niort. Now there is no such place as Noirt, whereas Niort is a well-known town in Poitou, equally well known as a Huguenot centre. The first principle demands that we should print and of course index both Noirt and Niort ; the second principle suggests that, the error being obvious, we should correct it and index both under Niort. I have chosen this as a simple instance about which there can be no doubt, but you will see that cases of this kind call for the most delicate discrimination on the part of an editor.

Having laid down the principles which should guide an editor, let us now consider the difficulties which beset him. First the writing is not the writing of to-day, and is very often bad, even for its own day. Secondly we are dealing with the names of persons and places, in reading which the context can offer no assistance. Thirdly the entries were in many cases made by a none too competent scribe who wrote down what he heard or thought he heard ; moreover, his informants were oftentimes peasants whose pronunciation was that of the patois of their district. Further the scribe was in most cases writing down the names of persons and places he had never before heard of.

Considering all this, the variant spellings both of proper and place names we meet with in our registers need not surprise us ; the question is, how to deal with them, and here let us take the proper names first. What we have to do is to ascertain the best, or most usual form, and either to group under this its certain variants, or to cross-reference them. But how can we be confident as to what are certain variants ? Here the skill of the editor comes in, and two obvious facts help him : first, an individual often marries twice, occasionally even three times ; and, secondly, married folk have children ; in this way we often get several entries of the same

person. Moreover, seeing that very generally the parents, the place of origin, and sometimes the residence are given, we can be certain as to the identity of the individual in these cases, whatever the variants may be; and the same reasoning applies oftentimes to brothers and sisters, who will have the same parentage and origin. A concrete instance will best illustrate this point. In 1616 'Esther de Reunie, fille de Jaques de Reunie, natiffue d'Aix en Allemagne' marries. Two years later 'Sara, fille de Jaques de Rheume natieue daix en Allemagne' also marries.¹ There can be no doubt here but that Esther and Sara are sisters, even though the difference in spelling is so considerable.

In the case of one of our registers, that of Threadneedle Street, a very exceptional opportunity offered itself of ascertaining and noting the varying ways in which these family names are spelt; of which, unfortunately, the editor did not avail himself. In that register it happens, for reasons I do not inquire into here, that the entries of several years occur and are printed twice over. Let us take as an example the fifteen years 1631-1645, which are among those thus duplicated. In the two versions of these years, while some entries occur in each which are not in the other, yet 303 entries are common to both.² From these two versions I have taken out a few of the variants which would be unrecognised without cross-references; these unhappily are not given by the editor:

<i>First Version</i>	<i>Second Version</i>	<i>First Version</i>	<i>Second Version</i>
Aerts	Arts	le Quenche	le Quece
Basquet	Bosque	Massel	Macelle, Marcel
Bocqueau	Bloteau	P'les	Philippe
Bodelo	Rodelo	Ridelo	Eidelo
Bowla	Bourla	Swall	Sowall
Chastelin	Satlin	Vanden-	Venden-
der Marck	des Maretz	Boguerd	Bogardi
Fremineur	Fermineux	Wagnie	Waquie
Fresin	Fersin	Wood	Oud

¹ *Threadneedle Street Registers*, i. 15, 17. The first of these names is not indexed, nor under the second are any of its many other variants cross-referenced.

² The first version is in i. 30-33, ii. 1-7; the second in ii. 8-28. The two versions are printed without comment.

Some of these variants are no doubt in the original, but some must be misreadings which could have been noticed, and corrected by reference to the original.

The method to be employed in order to avoid such pitfalls is a merely mechanical one, and very simple; and, though not perfect in its results, yet avoids many errors of the class just illustrated. Each entry must be transcribed on a separate slip, these slips arranged in alphabetical order will bring the families together, except where the variation in spelling is very considerable; they would not, for instance, show that Ridelo—Eidelo were the same, to take an example from the above list, but if we next rearrange them in the order of places of origin they will at once prove the identity, for under the place Mauvoisin we should find David Ridelo marrying Marie Sochon and David Eidelo marrying Marie Sochon, clearly the same entry, and reference to the original would at once show whether, as seems likely, the name had been misread. If not a cross-reference would of course be needed.

Another instance brings out a further advantage to be gained by adopting this method. 'Jaques Cresson natif d'Abhuguen' marries in 1609; in 1622 he marries again, this time as 'Jaques Querson natif d'Ablinkerken en Flandre.' Here the first sorting of the slips would not reveal the fact that Cresson was Querson, for C and Q are far apart, but the second sorting would, as the two variants of the town come close together. Had we only had the first form of this place, an impossible one, we should have been puzzled, but the similar sound of the man's names, coupled with the resemblance in the place names, shows that we have the same individual who comes from Adinkerck, a most reasonable town in Flanders. This method fails of course where no place of origin is given, but in the marriages this is rarely absent. If I have laid such stress on the value of slips it is because it is the bounden duty of an editor to use it as far as it will carry him. Used with intelligence and discretion it will carry him a long way on the path of making his work easy and helpful to those who come to search therein, folk for the most part ignorant of the pitfalls of register spelling.

When the slip method fails, it is sometimes possible, as

will be shown later when we come to deal with place names, to throw light on the names we meet with from other registers, for in early days, in obedience partly to the policy of the Government, and partly no doubt for private reasons, the Huguenots shifted about constantly. Haag's great work¹ is also useful, especially in the case of titled emigrants, where owing to the complexity of French titles we might often be lost without his help.²

This seems all that we can do with personal names ; with place names—to me far the more interesting part of our registers—as the difficulties are greater, so happily, do our means of dealing with them increase.

The spelling of the place names is, if possible, wilder than that of the family ones, and in their interpretation we again make use of our slips which will help us in cases where persons of the same name come from places apparently quite different and frequently quite impossible in the form in which we have them. How this can be done is best seen by taking some of these impossible place names and showing how by this method they can be made to reveal what they really are. You will notice in the instances I shall give, which will be taken from one or other of our printed registers, that misreading has had as much to do with the difficulty as mistakes by the original scribe. I begin with a place Lalofelle whence comes Pierre Meny. Now, the slightest knowledge of France suffices to show that there is no such place ; the collocation of our slips, however, under personal names proves that Pierre Meny appears again, this time as of la Chapelle, a well-known town in Thiérache whence many Huguenots came. It then becomes easy to see, by writing the two words one under the other, how nearly they correspond, and it is clear that *ch* has been misread as *l*, and *p* as *f*. Another, and more curious name is Liverpos, more impossible even than Lalofelle. We are told it is in Picardy, but Picardy knows it not. Susanne Martin comes from there, so we turn to our slips, and happily for us she remarries a few years later, and on the second

¹ *La France Protestante*, Eug. et Em. Haag, Paris 1857 *et seq.*

² See, for instances of this, *Publications*, xxii. 15.

occasion is of Senerpont ; now Sénarpont is a place in Somme, near Amiens, and Liverpos is Sénarpont. Gentue, another name of this class, is boldly identified by one editor as Gentioux in Creuse, not a department from which we should expect to find many Huguenots coming. André Trogard who comes from there occurs again in the register, as our slips show ; this time he is from Geneva, which gives us the key to the interpretation of Gentue, which is of course a misreading for Genfue, a common form of spelling the name in those days ; the *f* surviving to-day in the German spelling, Genf.¹ The same editor is responsible for another strange place, Marailles a Berantisin, whence comes one du Cro. Again happily for us, du Cro reappears, this time as from Morvillers-en-Beauvoysin, a place we at once recognise. The old form of the letter *s* is responsible for Morsias en Bretagne, which is of course Morlais, a fact we should guess even if our slips did not prove it. Collecting the le Long family in our slips we find that it comes from Berne, Perle, and Perne. Now this is hardly likely, nor indeed does any such town as Perle exist ; we may safely assume that the first two are mistakes, whether of scribe or editor one cannot say, and that the place is Perne-en-Artois.

I have now said enough to prove how useful, nay how indispensable, this method of slips is ; no one using it could have presented us with such names as Lalofelle, Liverpos, Berantisin ; indeed, one can only wonder that such words did not stagger the editor who passed them in his proofs.

It is when slips fail us that difficulties begin. This happens when we have only one person coming from the place, and where, therefore, the comparative method fails. In these cases we have to adopt other ways and to use other tools. These I now pass on to consider.

Seeing that the names were given to the scribe *viva voce*, the first key to apply is the phonetic one ; pronounce the words as they are written and see how far the sound recalls

¹ In another instance the name appears as Genesue ; here the *f* has been mistaken for a long *s*. It is, of course, Genefue, another of the variants which serve to disguise Geneva. The editor in this case suggests Guernsey !

any place in France. To illustrate the uses of this method I take the following names in the form in which they appear in our registers, placing against them the spelling under which we know them to-day :

Aurleant	Orléans	Moanbry	Meaux-en-Brie
Cairy	Quiery	Prajolu	Pré-Joli
Baulbaïque	Bolbec	St. Phillis	St. Félix
Draiste	Dresde	Basgeville	Bacqueville
St. Guain-en-	Sainghin-en-	Cinquantin	St. Quentin
Werp	Weppes		

This method will carry us a considerable way, and further still if we remember in applying it how easily certain letters are misread. The *u* and the *n* are constantly confused in transcribing, Vausais read as Vansais for example. The old form of the *s*, the long *s*, *f*, *p*, and *t*, are easily confused—we had an instance of it above in Gentue ; the capital *R* is liable to be read as *V*, Vufigny for Ruffigny, Ricoeur as Vicoeur. Moreover, different writings offer different dangers of this kind, all of which one learns by experience to allow for in applying the phonetic method.

The most curious and interesting example of phonetic spelling is to be found in the case of a place name which occurs both in the Canterbury and Threadneedle Street Registers, in both of which we are told that certain individuals come from 'Huict-et-quatre en Flandres.' Any name beginning with *W* was an impossible one for a French scribe, who gives us for example Huitmille for Wimille, a town near Boulogne. We therefore at once suspect the *H* of Huict-et-quatre to be a *W* ; the rest of the first part of the name suggests Wyt, and having once got so far we see that the full name is that of a place to which our attention has been called by recent events, Wytschaete, a town close to Messines, in Belgian Flanders just over the French border. A purely Flemish name ; if you can get it pronounced for you by a Fleming as I have done, the suspicion becomes a certainty that Huict-et-quatre is Wytschaete. To our soldiers who have had to deal with the name it has become Whitesheet.

This phonetic method of interpretation is very attractive, and one is ever wondering how far one dare go in applying it. For example, one of our registers gives us Evector as a place of origin, and we are strongly tempted to suggest Yvetot as the correct rendering. Yvetot is in Normandy, in the Pays de Caux, and however much the spelling differs the two words are not dissimilar in sound. The family of Tournier which comes from Evector appears in the *Témoignages*¹ as from Geneva, but that of course was only a place of passage, which leaves us free to attribute them to Yvetot.

If this phonetic spelling is wild with French names it becomes even wilder with English. I gave many strange instances of this in the introduction to the *Patente registers*² to which one or two more may be added from more recently published registers. Tewin is Two Inn in Hertfordshire, Sofof and Sofol, for both occur, are Suffolk; Wemsorde is Wandsworth, while Corsbie-en-Lastriches is so impossible in France that I strongly suspect it to be Cosby in Leicestershire.

When the phonetic key fails help can often be found in some other register. For example St. Jean-de-Nisible, Ile-de-France, cannot be found, but one remembers in another register having met with St. Jean-de-Nigelle, also in the Ile-de-France, and the difficulty is solved. Here Nisible would not have suggested Nigelle phonetically. Again we may be doubtful about Barre-en-Languedoc, whence comes Jean Anthoine Rocher in the Threadneedle Street Register, for Languedoc is a large district, and holds more than one Barre. The *Témoignages* of the same church, however, give him as of Barre-des-Cévennes, and our doubts are dispelled.

Laquenvile, au Pays de Caux, occurs in the Threadneedle Street Register as the birthplace of François Lorfelin, but no such place exists. The occasion is the publication of the banns on June 25, 1693. The marriage is recorded in the *Patente Register* as taking place on July 9 following where

¹ *Publications*, xxi. 255, s.v. Tournier. Anthoine and Ruth Crasman his wife, of the Evector entry in the Threadneedle Street Register (vol. iv.) bring a *Témoignage* from Crispin Street, it is another Anthoine who is of Geneva.

² *Publications*, xvi p. xvi. *et seq.*

the lady is said to be from Bacqueville, a well-known place in the Pays de Caux.¹

Another illustration of the value of this method is found by comparing the Threadneedle Street and Savoy Registers, for the latter are always careful, happily for this purpose, to state whether the marriage was authorised by licence or by banns; adding, where the latter was the case, in what church the banns had been published. To take six years as a sample, between 1684 and 1689 in twenty-four cases we are told by Savoy that the marriages took place after the publication of banns at 'l'Église Française de Londres'; this is of course Threadneedle Street. Turning to its registers we find these twenty-four entries among its marriages, but we now know that they are really only the publication of the banns. We thus have a double record in these cases which not only serves to clear up doubts as to spelling but also gives much fuller information as to persons, for while the Savoy is content with a bare register of the event, Threadneedle Street adds full details as to parentage and origin.

When all these methods have been applied we are left with a considerable number of place names which cannot be identified. These fall into two classes; first names which are obviously correct, but which cannot be identified, seeing that they bear no addition of district or of what may be almost called town surname. Take Condé as an illustration of this class; if we meet with this place *simpliciter* identification is hopeless so many Condés are there in France; even if we have it as Condé-en-Normandie the case is no better, for Condés are common in Normandy; it is only if we have Condé-sur-Noireau that no question arises. This class is unfortunately large. The second class is that which contains what must be miswritings or misreadings of the name, and again I illustrate with some instances taken from our registers. Here a happy guess will sometimes suggest something. Songe Roan for instance suggests Saintonge, often abbreviated S'onge, and Saintonge suggests Royan, and Royan-en-

¹ The references are *Threadneedle Street Register*, iii. 28 j. *La Patente Register*, 174, s.v. Morieu, the husband's name.

Saintonge reference to the original proves to be correct. Of Hocstay we are told that it is in Hainault, so the field is limited, and the guess that it stands for Ochtzeele is probably correct. Gueuy again, since it is in Cambresis, must be Quievy, Nord. But some names remain impervious to guessing, such are Beeniscloi, Bartrierie, Cember, Dyois, Qunquebre. This method, however, great as are its attractions, is not without its dangers, and must not be followed too far. These two classes have to be left, with nothing better than a suggestion, often rash. What remain, luckily the majority, we have to do our best to find and identify in modern France.

With well-known towns this is easy, Poitiers, Amiens, la Rochelle, we all know them at once, however slight our acquaintance with France. It is with the smaller places, some of them mere hamlets, that the difficulty arises, for we have become foreigners and cannot know France as a Frenchman does. In this difficulty we find much help from a trait which marks the French to-day as strongly as in the days of our ancestors—namely what we may call the ‘sentiment régionale.’ That this is no new feature the evidence of our registers proves, for in recording the place of their origin they almost always add the district in which it was situated. A man would seldom be content to say that he was of Bolbec or Meaux, but would almost always give it as Bolbec, Pays de Caux, and Meaux-en-Brie. Thence arises one of the great difficulties—where were these districts, and what were their boundaries? England is, and has been for so long, divided into definite counties that here such questions cannot arise. The only parallel I can suggest in England, and it is a very faint one, is the existence of such districts as Craven, Hallamshire, and Holderness in Yorkshire, and the Isle of Ely in Cambridgeshire, nor are these often referred to.

In France, on the contrary, there are between three and four hundred of these district names. Their origin is threefold. First we have the larger historical units which had gone to the making of France; these we may call the provinces, such as Brittany, Burgundy, Béarn, Normandy. Next we have smaller districts which perpetuate some feudal

jurisdiction, such as the Chatélenie-de-Lille, Roверgue, Vivarais. Lastly come other districts which have a topographical or geographical origin, such as the Landes, the Woëvre, the Bocage, Beauce.¹

In dealing with our registers we constantly meet with these territorial divisions, and we must remember that the larger include several of the smaller ; we may find la Chapelle for instance sometimes given as in Thiérache, sometimes as in Picardy, for Thiérache is a part of Picardy. Take Normandy as an example, whence come so many of our folk. Some tell us they are from Haute-, some from Basse-Normandie, a fairly dichotomous division. But Normandy is again divided into the Pays de Caux, the Côtentin, the Bessin, the Vexin Normand, to name only the larger, for there are several smaller areas. Picardy again includes the Calaisis, the Boulonnais, Vermandois, and Thiérache.

Very occasionally our refugees use the older ecclesiastical divisions such as the Diocèse de Castres, or the Evêché de Metz.

The history of France raises yet further questions of this kind ; for both its eastern and southern frontiers, unmarked by any sea, were often shifting. A Hainault man, for example, had in the seventeenth century swung between Spain and France with the fortune of war, and even to-day the district is part French and part Belgian. The Vaudois valleys again must now be looked for in Italy. Among names which illustrate this point may be quoted the Conté-de-Foix, united to France in 1589, and often thereafter called the 'pays réuni,' as well as the designation 'pays conquis et reconquis,' used to distinguish what had been, before 1558, the English pale, that is the country England had held around Calais.

For all these subdivisions, with which we are so constantly meeting, no modern map is of any avail ; we must use an

¹ In dealing with these divisions care must be taken not to confuse them with the administrative divisions known as Généralités or Gouvernements. These, first instituted by Francis I, were added to by his successors until under Louis XIV they numbered thirty-eight. Their names generally followed those of the older provinces, but their boundaries were not always conterminous.

historical atlas, the best of which I have found to be that of Spruner-Menke (Gotha, 1880). A modern map is required as well, and here the French Ordnance Survey is the best, failing which Taride's maps are very good. The *Dictionnaire des Postes et Télégraphes* is an absolute necessity, for in this every place in France down to the smallest hamlet is given.

Some experience in registers provides an editor with what I may call a certain intuitive knowledge of where a place is likely to be. A termination 'ville' is almost certainly in Normandy, as the termination 'tot' is quite certainly. Any name beginning with a *W* is only to be looked for in the north-east corner of France. Berinx and Naverenx and all similar terminations take one straight to Béarn, while names ending in 'ac' or 'acq,' Bergerac and Arzacq for instance, lie almost certainly south of the Loire.

Another point which may be misleading should be noticed. These registers often give an older form of the place-name which one is unable to find in any modern map or gazetteer. Alvert, for example, is almost always given for what is now Arvert, Plessis-Mornay appears as Plessis-Marly,¹ St. Jean-du-Gard was in old days St. Jean-de-Gardomenque.² The old name of la Ferté-sous-Jouarre was la Ferté Aucout³ (which appears in Threadneedle Street as la Ferte-au-Col). But the most curious of these cases is a place which occurs in one of our indexes as 'Yuri-la-Chaussée en Normandie.' I saw at once that Yuri was Ivry, but the Ivry we know is Ivry-la-Bataille. A little research showed that the modern form only dates from 1590, the date of the battle of Ivry, before which the place was known as Ivry-la-Chaussée. The occurrence of the old form in our register in 1626 proves that thirty-six years after the battle the new name had not yet established itself.

¹ Spruner-Menke (Gotha, 1880) has it Plessis-Marly (Map 55).

² The older form assumes many variants: Threadneedle Street (vol. iv.) has it as Gardonnerque, in the *Bulletin* it becomes Cardonnique (1916, p. 319), while Thorpe-le-Soken has it correctly (*Publications*, xx. 11).

³ So given in a work I have found useful, the *Dictionnaire Géographique* of Vosgien (Paris, 1749).

I now come to what appears to me the most important duty of an editor of a register—namely, the lessons he should draw from the statistics it contains. Each register teaches its own lessons, and by combining the teachings of many registers we obtain not only a more general view, but also one less disturbed by local accidents. Consider first places of origin. By collecting all the persons coming from the same town we shall arrive at a clear knowledge of the proportion in which the various districts helped to swell the tide of immigration. We shall find, as we should expect for geographical reasons, that the majority of English Huguenots were from the Low Countries, Picardy, Normandy, Poitou, Saintonge, and Aunis. Nay, we can go further, for we shall be able to lay down with some certainty the exact proportion borne by each of these districts.

One of the most difficult problems of Huguenot history is to arrive at some estimate of the total number of persons who belonged to each church, as of the total number who came to this country. Attempted by many writers, their figures will be found to vary largely; nor does this surprise us, as in the absence of statistics any estimate must admittedly be only guess-work. Registers, however, do offer a valuable basis for calculation, nor do I think I am asking too much from an editor if I suggest that he should make use of them for this purpose.

Let us then consider how the statistics of a register can be used for this purpose and what they have to teach. First, if we total the number of marriages and births in each year we get a very perfect reflection of the tide of emigration to that church; and when the tide begins to ebb as emigration dwindles and absorption increases, the falling numbers reveal the tale accurately.

But the statistics of a register have an even more important lesson to teach, for we can hope to learn from them something definite, not only as to the numbers gathered in each church at any one date; but ultimately, by combining the totals of each church, we shall be enabled to arrive at a fairly accurate estimate of the total Huguenot emigration.

Unfortunately at that date there were no vital statistics, and still more unfortunately we have no record of deaths. All we have to work from are the marriages and births. Now these are of course always in a certain ratio both to population and to each other.

The ratio of births to marriages, where I have tested it in some of our registers, ranges between four and five, agreeing with such authority as one can find for that time. This, however, is but of little importance compared to the ratio of births to population; for could we but be certain what this was at any one date we could of course deduce from it the number of members gathered in each church.

This ratio varies very much in different countries, and in England has of late fallen very rapidly—in 1916 it stood at 21·9 per 1000. I am no expert in such matters, but I suggest that for our date we might put it at about 35. Using this figure will give us for Threadneedle Street, to take an example, a congregation of 7200 for its ten most flourishing years 1691–1700.

We have not yet published all the available registers, so the time is not yet ripe for any final summing up, but meanwhile, as each register is printed, the work should be done for that record, if only to lighten the ultimate task. When all the registers are available we shall then be able by the combination of their statistics to arrive with some degree of accuracy at the total number of Huguenots living in England at any given date.

Local circumstances and conditions, as every statistician knows, affect the conclusions he draws from his material, and the wider the field the less the error, but so wide is the field offered by our registers that errors due to such causes will be largely diminished if not wholly eliminated.

Registers are but dull works, and I have never wondered at the occasional murmur I have heard that the Society should devote itself so entirely to them. I have tried to show you something of the general interest which may be found in them, as of how they should be treated if that interest is to be brought out. I speak from experience when I say that I know of few

more instructive or even entertaining tasks than this of searching back to the rock whence we were hewn in our old land, and following our fortunes in this, the Canaan to which we came ; I trust that what I have said may lead others to see that registers need not always fall into the class of *biblia a-biblia*—books which are books only in outward seeming.

1417093**The Swiss and the League.**

BY MAURICE WILKINSON, M.A., F.R.HIST.S.

THE Swiss mercenary service dates, roughly, from the time of Charles VIII's invasion of Italy, but it became a settled habit with its full development in the following century. The French Kings had long relied on the services of picked bands of foreigners, of which the Scots were originally by far the most famous; but after Louis XI's reign fewer Scots left their country, although, so long as the hostility between England and Scotland existed, some were always to be found in the French service. It was after the disastrous day of Marignano that Francis I, much impressed with the bravery of the Swiss, obtained a perpetual peace with the Cantons November 29, 1516; but that was not enough for the King, he wanted an alliance. This was gained in 1521 when the King was accorded an authorisation to enrol 6,000–10,000 Swiss at any time if France were attacked, and conversely if the Confederation were menaced France would supply artillery and cavalry. The latter the Swiss always lacked. This perpetual peace and alliance could be renounced on the King's death, but it was always renewed until 1723. A subsidy of 3,000 fcs. was guaranteed to each Canton, and the alliance was accepted by all save Zürich. This was owing to Zwingli's opposition to the mercenary service—a service which he rightly regarded as harmful. He had in his mind the fear of Swiss engaging in a fratricidal struggle in the religious troubles which seemed to be imminent. This actually happened on several occasions. However, this evil was little if any worse than the civil religious wars of the Cantons, in one of which Zwingli lost his life.

Originally a system intended for the French service only, we find the Swiss mercenaries temporarily in Venetian, Savoy, and

Spanish pay, and some of their engagements lasted well into the nineteenth century. At the present time the Pope alone of Sovereigns has a Swiss guard in his pay. The origin of the mercenary service is mainly to be found in the Burgundian wars during which the Confederates gained great prestige and immense booty. This gave them the idea of a possible means of gaining a living outside their own land. There was much excuse for it. The poverty of the soil and its wholly inland character has in a manner ever imposed on its inhabitants the necessity for many to seek their fortunes abroad. Switzerland did not become industrial until our own days, and even now large numbers have to seek their living in the peaceful pursuit of hotel and restaurant keeping. It is to be noticed that the Swiss rarely colonise. Whether, as in the past, their profession was arms or, as now, peaceful occupations, they followed it solely to acquire wealth and return to their own land, not to settle in the country in which they seek their fortunes. The Confederation of the sixteenth century was something very unlike the country which we know. Great as is the Cantonal *particularismus* of to-day, it is as nothing compared to the Cantonal independence of the past. The tie between Canton and Canton is weak enough now, but each Canton's tie to the federal body is accurate and defined. In the sixteenth century, and for long after, the relationship of Canton to Canton was often one of suspicion and thinly veiled hostility, whilst the federal tie, if we can use the expression at all, was unfixed and fluctuating.

At the time of the League, Switzerland consisted of thirteen States, in the following order:—Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Luzern, Zürich, Glarus, Zug, Bern, Solothurn, Fribourg, Basel, Schaffhausen, Appenzell. Much of what is now Switzerland was owned and moderately badly governed by some of these States: there were also the associated States such as the republics of Geneva and the Valais. The internal religious questions were settled on the principle of *Cujus Regio*, but strife frequently broke out between the Cantons, and it was not until after the second battle of Villmergen, 1712, that the *Landfriede*, as it was called, remained undisturbed. Before

speaking of the military equipment and discipline of the Swiss, I should like to recall one of their great exploits early in the religious wars, the retreat from Meaux. As a military feat it is almost unrivalled, but the details are not very generally known. Charles IX and his Court were surprised at that town by a strong force of Huguenot cavalry. The regiment of the famous Pfyffer,¹ of whom we shall hear much, was at Château Thierry. He marched off at once and covered the forty-five kilometres during the night of September 27, 1567, and offered immediately to conduct the King to Paris. With Charles IX and his Court in their midst the Swiss proceeded leisurely in close formation. We know the details chiefly from the Venetian ambassador, Correr, who was present.

‘I then saw [he writes] all that military discipline could do. Three times I saw them face the enemy and hurl whatever they could lay their hands on, then at the double, lance in rest, they would throw themselves like mad dogs on the heretics, and yet without one of them breaking the ranks.’

About midnight on the 28th, Paris was safely reached. This action, though far from being one of the great and bloody battles which attract popular notice, was in reality one of the most difficult tasks that can be required of tired infantry—not to break their ranks for an instant on the march in the face of violent cavalry attacks. These 6,000 Swiss, of whom some indeed were veterans of Dreux but the greater part had only been levied two months previously, rendered their Canton and officer famous for the rest of the religious strife. The ambassador attributed this striking success to their discipline, but we must not read into the phrase too much of our modern idea of discipline—that is, the purely mechanical obedience to the precise order, which can only be gained by much practice

¹ Ludwig Pfyffer, most of whose military work was done before the period of this paper, died during the great Armistice at the age of sixty-nine. A genuine enthusiast for religion, he spent his life in fighting the heretics, and his policy impressed itself permanently on the history of Lucerne and the Forest Cantons. He was a good scholar and a great builder and founder of religious houses. He did much to improve the education of his somewhat boorish compatriots. To the poor he was kind and liberal.

in drill. The Swiss had of course training in the manual of their arms and also a good deal of what we should call physical exercise; this last was mainly practised at home. Obedience was indeed exacted on the field of battle under the heaviest penalties, but discipline, as we have defined it, is the result of the barrack, the non-commissioned officer, and the military school, and it did not exist in any force of the sixteenth century. Amongst the native French, except the *gardes*, whether *ligueurs* or *royaux*, it was singularly lacking; amongst the Spaniards discipline was more often found, but the Swiss, the first professional soldiers of modern times, realised it with all their limitations more than any others. The rank and file at all times insisted on their immediate leaders being their own countrymen, but the nominal head, lieutenant-colonel of the Swiss, was a Frenchman. Their engagement was for three months only, though, doubtless, many were *rengagés* again and again, and this short term to some extent mitigated the worse moral effects of mercenary service. The distinction of grades was not yet formally evolved, though respect to officers was enjoined; but the measure of respect depended far more than at our time on the character of the captain.

The unit was the company of 300 men. The captain, *hauptmann*, was absolute master of his company and in a sense its proprietor. He enrolled and paid the men, chose his under officers, and was responsible for everything military and financial. The whole proceeding was rather that of a company with an extremely autocratic director. Much of our own contemporary warfare especially at sea was carried out on very similar lines. Sometimes and often accidentally the companies coalesced into a regiment, then the captains chose a colonel from amongst themselves. At the same time this colonel remained the captain of his company and was never more than *primus inter pares*. Such is the origin of the colonel's rank. It dates from some time after the battle of Marignano and was usual by 1567.

The captain (these figures apply to our own period) received from his employer a lump sum of 9,000 livres a month for himself and his 300 men; he gave eighteen livres a month

to a soldier and to a double soldier the double. The *Doppelsöldner* was supplied with a cuirass and a long pike ; he was evidently a much slower moving man than the *söldner* and would come in a bad outsider in the race for booty after victory, or in the contrary event would be more liable to capture, hence the reason for his higher pay. But in our period, although he still had extra weight and an arquebuss, he was to all intents the sergeant or corporal, according to his term of service. After all, the captain found himself with 1,500 livres over. He had no expense in arming or clothing his men, or only very rarely, and he lived free of the company. These 1,500 livres were in the nature of an insurance against the insolvability of his employer. Herein was a real risk and a frequent cause of trouble, as we shall see. With his eighteen livres the soldier had to feed himself and, presumably, to replace worn-out clothes ; but we must remember the cheapness of living at that time. Moreover, he made sure of some booty, often a large amount ; but during our period we must not picture the vast sums which were acquired by the Swiss in the Italian campaigns.

The lack of discipline in the modern sense explains much that is apparently contradictory in the behaviour of the Swiss. It was no uncommon thing to see Swiss companies which had acted with remarkable coherence and precision during the fighting soon afterwards dissolve into bands without coherence, and even pillage the country they should have protected. Here lies the explanation. In the danger of the fight confidence was supreme. None feared to be forsaken by his next man ; after the fight none cared to trust another sufficiently to assume that the booty would be equally shared, hence the invariable scramble for plunder. Sometimes the lack of their proper pay caused the mercenaries to indemnify themselves at the expense of the territory of their employer. In all the armies of the sixteenth century there was a lack of interest between the officers and men, and there was no place prepared to which the soldiers might go for shelter after the battle or campaign. The officers would make themselves as comfortable as they could in the nearest village or town, and the men would be left much to their own devices, and armed men will never endure hunger

and thirst when the means of satisfying them are at hand, except in the case of those disciplined beyond the conception of those days. At the time the consequences were not so dire as would be the case now. The armies then and for long after were small and professional; they followed their calling willingly and were not a miscellaneous crowd of civilians in uniform—a system which has been the curse of Europe since 1871.

The original battle order of the Swiss was a formation known as the *Cone*. This was developed into the *Square* and *Hérisson*. Another formation known as the *Rectangle*, in which the narrower side was turned to the enemy, was later much used for breaking into opposing infantry who had exhausted their ammunition, or to charge before the cumbrous guns of the period could be reloaded. The military interest of Swiss tactics in earlier days lies in the fact that the solid formation of pikemen and halbardiers broke the attacks of the heavily armoured knights, as was abundantly proved at Laupen and in the Burgundian wars. Their defeat at Marignano seemed to show that with the changing tactics, in the future cavalry and some artillery were necessary for their protection on the flanks, but it was a very near thing. The numbers and the excellence of Francis' heavy horse combined with Alviano's attack on their rear decided their defeat, but their credit as soldiers was never higher than after that battle.

The first levy for the League was made in June 1585, and it was also the last expedition in which Pfyffer took part, though his political activities lasted until his death. The first regiment under Pfyffer himself and the second under Colonel Tanner of Uri, together nearly 8,000 strong, mustered at St. Jean de Lône. But the treaty of Nemours settled for a time the differences of the King, the Queen Mother, and the League, and there was no fighting.

At the same time three Catholic regiments were in the royal service: Alois von Reding (Schwyz), Von Leuthen Heydt (Fribourg), and Caspar Gallati (Glarus). Reding's company spent most of the winter with Matignon at Bordeaux, Heydt's was mainly in the neighbourhood of Etampes, and

Gallati's was with La Valette or Epernon in Provence and Dauphiné. In the following autumn (1586) was founded what is now known as the Golden or Borromean League. The Archbishop of Milan was extremely anxious to unite Savoy, Piedmont, and the Forest Cantons in the Catholic cause, but it was hardly the direct work of San Carlo, the inspiration came chiefly from Ludwig Pfyffer. This League was renewed in 1655 under its present name, and in it lay the germ of the *Sonderbund* war.¹ It was at first simply called *Die Christlich Bündniss*. By its terms, it was agreed that if any one of the seven States fell, which God forbid, from the Catholic faith the rest were to prevent it (*hindern*) with all their power. If any one of them was oppressed or troubled by a non-Catholic State the same was to happen. No other new agreement could detract from the present one. This clause was expanded by Pfyffer into 'nor any old one'; for he used this gloss in actively supporting the League in direct contravention of the perpetual alliance with the French monarch. So long as the King of France was fighting against the Huguenots no trouble had arisen, but after Henry III's hostility to the League and especially after the murder of the Duke of Guise the difficulty became acute. From the time of the *rapprochement* of the two Kings the Forest Cantons did not pretend to observe the perpetual alliance.

Each representative of the Cantons signed the bond in the presence of the Nuncio at St. Leodegar's church in Luzern. In the great struggle of 1587 the two royal regiments were commanded by Jost Krespinger of Luzern and Gallati. The seven detached companies at Lyon were under Colonel Wilhelm Tugginer of Solothurn. The two former suffered considerably at Coutras. Soon after the victory the Protestant Swiss did some underhand work with the King, when on the death of Colonel Tillmann the command fell on Ulrich von Bonstetten of Bern. The trouble was caused by the hostility between the Swiss and German mercenaries, who, it was alleged, were shown more favour in Navarre's camp. The Swiss considered himself a very superior person to *landsknechte* or *reiter*, and,

¹ 1847.

as a matter of fact, was by custom entitled to higher pay. Anyhow, the Bernese leader and Jacob von Diesbach, the two Lustrachs and others were all put on their trial on their return and fined. The Zürichers were more severely dealt with; Caspar von Bellikon (the colonel), Scheuzer, Escher, and Asper (captains) were imprisoned and threatened with death but finally pardoned.

Basel and Schaffhausen only tried their leaders *pro forma* and no one was punished. On the day of the Barricades, 1588, Henry, besides the French guards, had Gallati's regiment variously composed. They were brought up from Lagny to St. Denis and introduced by the Porte St. Honoré and occupied some commanding points of the city. The bulk were at the cemetery of the Innocents; but the Swiss were too scattered and Henry's heart in any case failed him and he hurriedly left Paris whilst his mother was trying to bring the Duke of Guise to reason. The French and Swiss guard followed him to Chartres; Gallati wrote an interesting account of his experiences.¹ He also wrote an account full of his men's discipline and conduct.

At the tragedy of Blois, Balthasar von Grissach, Solothurn, was present as lieutenant of the guard. He wrote an account to Solothurn which was passed on next month to Luzern and Fribourg. Pfyffer wrote a letter of remonstrance to Sillery (Brulart), the King's ambassador to the Confederation.²

After this business the Catholic cantons were in a position of some difficulty, but Pfyffer was more or less openly favourable to the League.³ These cantons, as we have seen at the time of the Golden League, were honestly, nay fanatically, Catholic, and it is a curious feature of the times to see the Swiss mountaineers sacrifice their lives in all good faith for what they believed to be a matter of pure religion, whereas we now know that the morals of the later League were of the

¹ Printed in *Ludwig Pfyffer und seine Zeit*, von Segesser, Bern, ii. 359.

● *Idem*, ii. 361.

³ Pfyffer's popularity and power at this time were so great that he was known as *Schweizer König*—a jest comparable to the title of Guise, *Roi de Paris*.

worst and that religion had small influence on their minds and acts, as is shown by the scandalous conduct of Mayenne's troops. The matter was really political. In February, Sancy was sent with credit from both Kings to raise forces and with instructions to work against Pfyffer and to insist on the old alliance. Both he and Brulart had a contest with the *Schultheiss* at the conference of Solothurn. Solothurn, Schwyz, and Zug demanded the referendum with the following result: March 27—For the service: Zürich, Bern, Glarus, Solothurn, Graubünden. Against: Luzern, Uri, Unterwalden, Fribourg, Appenzell. Schwyz and Zug were for the true Catholic interest, which practically, though not entirely, turned to the royal advantage. The five negative Cantons compromised by raising five companies for the Savoyard service against Geneva; but as some Genevese were in Sancy's regiments it was an act of hostility to the King.

Finally Sancy enrolled four regiments of 12,000 men.

1. Under Colonel von Erlach, mainly Bernese.
2. Under Colonel Wiescher, Protestant Glarner with some men of Zürich in both.
3. Under Colonel Schauenstein of Graubünden.
4. Under Colonel Aregger of Solothurn, including men of that Canton with men of Glarus, St. Gallen, and the Valais. This was a purely Catholic regiment.

In addition, Sancy got some Neuchâtelais under Louis Osterwald, some more from Solothurn under Jacob von Staal, and Baslers under Balthasar Imri. Gallati's other Glarus regiment was with the King at St. Symphorien at the time of Mayenne's surprise attack. The two Kings mustered about 40,000 in all for the attack on Paris. There were in Paris two weak Swiss companies of Luzerners and Urners.

On August 1, Henry was murdered, and on the 18th Mayenne wrote to the *Schultheiss* about this event. Now the last scruples were removed, for clearly the Forest Cantons would not fight for a heretic King; but as a matter of fact, what is known as the *Dumainische Dienst* or *Feldzug* was practically settled in June. The first regiment was of Schwyz, Unterwalden, Uri and Valais, Rapperswil, Thurgau, and Aargau.

This was led by Sebastian Tanner, Landamman of Uri. All had their captains as usual, of whom only one needs mention, Sebastian von Mechel of Uri. A descendant of this man was very prominent in the Neapolitan service against Garibaldi. The Valaisans had their own sub-colonel, Maurice von Riedmatten. The second regiment was composed of Luzerners, Zugers and many Catholic Glarners, and was led by Rudolf, Pfyffer, the youngest brother of the *Schultheiss*. He was a very religious man and had made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem some years earlier. We must notice that Reding's company of Schwyzers and Zurlauben's of Zugers were still in the King's service. The remainder, assembled at Luzern, heard solemn Mass by the Nuncio at the *Stiffskirche* where many men and officers took the communion. These were genuine Crusaders. The regiments followed the usual route, St. Gotthard, Little St. Bernard, and joined Mayenne at Troyes and arrived at Montlhery on August 28.

Sillery at Baden protested against the *Dumainische Dienst* and wrote a memorandum for the Forest Cantons, to which they replied: in both they stated clearly what they thought of each other.

In the crisis after Henry IV's accession the Swiss gained for the new King at Suresnes were by no means wholly Protestant. Aregger's were entirely Catholic, and so were a considerable part of Gallati's; Wiechser's and Hartmann's alone were all Protestant. A manifesto issued at the camp of Neuilly, August 17, 1589, as to Henry's intention with regard to the Church, and above all his desire for instruction, much reassured the Catholic Swiss. This was signed by all the great Catholic *royaux*, including Montpensier and Damville (Montmorency), Colonel-General of the Swiss. Henry left the neighbourhood of Paris for Normandy.

Pfyffer's and Tanner's regiment fought well at Arques, and Aregger's did good service for the King at Falaise and Honfleur, which place they left hurriedly for the more important siege of Meulan. About this time Gallati's regiment was paid off and dismissed; they reached Switzerland early in 1590 and so did not fight at Ivry. At the end of the same January Tanner died.

which caused some confusion, as he was the second head of the Catholic party and the right hand of the *Schultheiss*. On February 4 Sebastian von Beroldingen of Uri was elected—notice the democratic nature of the service of the Forest Cantons—to his place.

We now come to the remarkable tactical victory of Ivry ; its strategical and political results were of course disappointing. The general aspect of the battle is too well known to detain us, only the purely Swiss part concerns us here. In the battle order on the King's right were the Solothurn regiments of Aregger and von Grissach, on his left Wiechser's regiment and Hartmann's Graubündners. Mayenne had on his right Beroldingen's and on his left Pfyffer's regiment. The royal Swiss amounted to at least 10,000, the Leaguer not much over 3,000. On the extreme right and left of either army were French infantry on the flanks, and before the battle line were light cavalry. In Mayenne's centre were the Walloon black *reiters*, in Henry's the *gendarmérie*. There was also a body of German *landsknechte* with Mayenne. It was above all an artillery and cavalry fight, and the action was incredibly swift and fierce. The mass of the infantry on either side remained more or less passive. All were soon mixed up in a tangled flight, and the bad position taken by the Leaguers, with the Eure in the rear of Mayenne's retreat, made matters worse. Only the mountaineers stood their ground and both lots formed into a compact square with the whole of the French infantry and the Solothurn regiments against them. They were very weak owing to injured and sick ; some had already left after the expiration of their three months' service, and four companies, one each from Luzern, Uri, Schwyz, and Glarus, were in Paris. They were bound to surrender. The Solothurn men were unwilling to attack their fellow-countrymen and co-réligionists and the French infantry, we will not say were afraid, but did not like the look of the wall of lances. The reputation of the Forest Cantons was great and the Swiss were known to be particularly formidable when they found themselves in a tight place. Marshal Biron took stock of the situation and concluded that the square could not be rushed. Aregger suggested to the

King that he had better offer them terms. So a drummer was sent to Pfyffer with a demand that owing to overwhelming force they should surrender. Pfyffer required honourable conditions. By the law of war they stood to lose all their tackle and to be put to ransom. Finally it was granted that, owing to their bravery, the companies should keep their offensive and defensive weapons, even their colours were conceded later, and have a safe conduct to the frontier.

Thus do chivalrous foes make war. It was otherwise with the German *landsknechte*. The French, recalling their treachery at Arques, refused them quarter for the greater part, although the humane King tried to prevent the slaughter. Thereupon the Solothurn men with the Graubündners and Wiechser's mixed company conducted their brother confederates in friendly fashion to their headquarters and there the surrender was formally signed by Biron in the King's name. The Forest Canton men, now prisoners, followed the victorious King to Mantes, whence Pfyffer and Captain von Sonnenburg of Luzern and Tanner the younger of Uri went to Paris and made known the agreement to the Swiss therein, who came out, and four days later all started for their own country. The King appointed as commissary and interpreter Vigier of Solothurn with instructions as to the safe conduct. Henry's attitude was rather severe, but their treatment was excellent, free food and wine being provided.

The recollection of Beroldingen's and Pfyffer's bold stand at Ivry lasted for a long time.¹ The true news only reached Luzern on April 8; the earlier report was to the effect that the King had fallen and the League was victorious. Directly after this, Peter von Grissach the younger, who was interpreter at the French Legation at Solothurn, came to Luzern to explain fully to Pfyffer: he stayed at the inn Zum Rössli, which many of us know, next to the house of the *Schultheiss*. On April 10 a general meeting of the five Cantons was held, and a letter of thanks to the Solothurners for their good offices and another of friendly greetings to the officers of the defeated regiments

¹ *Ludwig Pfyffer und seine Zeit*, ii. 326, 327, 329, letters of Grissach, Aregger, and Pfyffer.

were sent. At first everyone seemed rather pleased at their bravery and lucky escape ; but on the 17th Vigier arrived with 2,000–3,000 men of the regiments, every man in a most deplorable state—even the captains were on foot, having sold horses, weapons, everything to supply their needs. Henry had given them 3,000 crowns at St. Jean de Lône for their journey. Vigier on the 19th appeared with a letter from Brulart before the Council, and, in the face of some remonstrances, asked them what more they wanted ; here were the men back alive and there was no need to trouble further about the League, for *Gott habe nun gezeigt dass er die Krone Frankreichs erhalten wolle*. His haughty bearing made a bad impression on the Council. The uproar amongst the folk was tremendous, but they soon ignored Vigier and turned their attention to the Leaguer envoy, La Motte, and blamed him for the whole catastrophe ; many were in favour of hunting him away. Gradually matters calmed down, and Pfyffer showed all the energy and moderation of a statesman. The news affected him deeply : the bankruptcy of his policy seemed probable, whilst the ruinous and unpaid state of the men on their return opened his eyes to some extent as to the possible danger of his ultramontane policy. Pfyffer wrote plainly to Montalto regarding the danger which might arise to religion, and the disrepute into which the League was likely to fall in Catholic Switzerland. Pfyffer never again thought very well of the League as such, although shortly afterwards we find him raising a force for the Pope in the Leaguer interest.

We must turn to the fortunes of the isolated bodies of Swiss in certain towns.

It will be remembered that those in Lyon were included in the articles of Ivry, a fact to which Brulart called the attention of the Consul and échevins in whose pay they were. They consisted of two Fribourg companies and one from Luzern, the whole under Hans Ralze, a Fribourgeois. Under him, but captain of the Luzerners, was Niklaus Pfyffer, son of the *Schultheiss*. These were got out and returned home. At Dijon¹ were two companies of Luzerners under Claud Stuber and Jost Knab,

¹ See letters in *Dijon Archives*, 1–5.

which had been provided under the *Dumainischen Dienst* agreement. These stayed there, whether voluntarily or not we cannot be sure. They were not well treated by their employers and in turn gave some trouble; in the course of the summer they were reduced to a mere handful, and a handful were in the town at its capitulation 1593. In 1591 Paravicini made overtures to the Cantons for the Papal service and a request for 6,000 men. Luzern was willing, on conditions of sure pay and arrears. Solothurn was for refusing, as might be expected. Schwyz utterly refused. Finally, largely owing to Pfyffer's permission, although his faith in the League was shaken, he stood by the Holy See, Luzern, Uri, Unterwalden, Zug, and Fribourg gave their consent. The whole was under the command of Sebastian H. Kuhn, Landesstatthalter of Uri. According to custom, he was also captain of his own company; Luzern was under Ludwig Schüpff and Albrecht von Segesser; Unterwalden Obwald under Hans von der Flüe; Nidwald under Caspar Lussi; Zug under Heinrich Elsener; Fribourg under Simon and Othmar Gothau. The Abbot of St. Gallen's men with those of Einsiedeln were in charge of Mathias Rüti. All these followed the usual route by the St. Gotthard and the Little St. Bernard and arrived, reduced by sickness and desertions, about 3,000 strong at Verdun in July. In this town were the headquarters of the Papal commander, the Duke of Montemarcano, and the Duke of Lorraine. The whole host, including the Spaniards, Italians, and Lorrainers, mustered about 40,000 men.

After the raising of the siege of Paris, Henry still had his two Solothurn regiments and those of Wiechser and Hartmann, but his resources in money began to fail, and at Mantes, July 1591, Aregger's and Hartmann's regiments were paid off with thanks for their good services and were provided with passport, conduct and passage money. Some of Aregger's men were joined to Wiechser's regiment and 120 Valaisans under Vallier remained in garrison at Mantes. All the rest departed and arrived in Switzerland in October. Von Grissach's and Wiechser's regiments remained in the King's service, and, after some minor actions at Gournay and Caudebec,

in October joined Marshal Biron for the siege of Rouen. In the hard fighting that ensued, especially in the attack on St. Catherine's Hill, the two Swiss regiments played a conspicuous part under Biron's eyes : they lost heavily and Wiechser himself was wounded. Some 300 Swiss of Pfyffer's and Beroldingen's regiment who had not accepted the articles of Ivry were inside Rouen with Villars. The defence was full of energy. Henry never showed to advantage during a long siege, Biron's attitude was not over clear, and the English, neglected by the Queen's government and unpaid by Henry, who indeed was devoid of resources, fought well but must be regarded as a failure. Henry's army was largely mercenary, and the defence was conducted by native Frenchmen, except the 300 Luzerners. This fact was not without significance to the astute King.

In April Parma took in hand the relief of Rouen. He was by far the greatest strategist of the period and one of the best in history. The Papal Swiss of Kuhn joined Parma at Abbeville, and on April 20 the whole force arrived before Rouen. De Thou's statement that Parma had difficulty in getting the Swiss to march is not borne out by a letter from Kuhn, but he emphasises as usual the trouble which he experienced in getting his pay. After the relief of Rouen this regiment was discharged in June 1592. The war henceforth languished ; each side had had enough, and the necessity for his conversion became more obviously urgent for the King, and it took place in the course of a year. It had long been clear that France was sick of the League and would joyfully recognise its legitimate King if only he were to be converted. The great armistice was concluded on August 1, and, although desultory fighting persisted for some time longer, the war of the League was over. It is sometimes suggested that the League wholly failed. It was a complete success to the extent that, though often beaten in the field, it prevented Henry from becoming unconditional master in his own capital or even in the *bonnes villes*. A heretic was not to reign over France.

APPENDIX

I

(*Arch. Mun. Dijon, 757 B, 73.*)

MESSIEURS,—

En retournant vers vous, le Capp: Jost Knab prie ses biens aymés Bourgeois pour continuer le service de sa charge; nous n'avons pas voullu faillir de vous dire deulx ou trois petitz mottz & premièrement, nous vous remercions de bien bon cueur du bon & honorable traitement que vous continuez en faire envers led: Capp: & sa compagnie selon que luy & autres nous en ont faict honorable rapport. Au second, ayantz entendu avec regret l'emprisonnement des souldatz de lad: compagnie à St Jehan de Laulne, & que celuy qui les tient en garde se soit eslargi de vouloir faire ung echangeement avec vous & vous restituer libres les nostres en recepvant aussy libres ceulx des suisses protestants qui de mesme sont prisonniers en voz mains, comme vous en verres, par lettres des Cantons, les prières qu'ilz font pour ce regard: nous vous pryons ainsi de voulloir faire tout le possible que ces bons soldatz en soyent liberez au plus tost & restituez en leur service dans v̄re ville, & d'en pourvoir pour l'advenir qu'ilz ne soyent employés aus hazardes en telle façon & semblable péril; ains retenus pour continuer leur service pour la garde & bien de v̄re ville. Et que led: Capp: & les souldatz soyent sucessivement fournis d'argent pour s'entretenir deuement en v̄re service & pour mieux exploiter leur debvoir, comme nous ne doubtons pas & serons toujours prestz de vous complaire en tout ce que sera pour le bien & proufit de v̄re ville. En vous faisant cognoistre come vous nous sommes grands amys & très affectionnez & faisant fin nous pryons etc

vos bons amis

Advoyer & Conseil de la ville de Lucerne

de Lucerne ce x jour de febvrier 1590.

II

(Arch. Mun. Dijon, 457 B, 91.)

MESSIEURS,—

J'eusse pense que eussies donné meilleur ordre au paiement des cappitaines lesquels vous ont si fidèlement servi. Le cap: Jost Knab se treuve en très grande peine & travail ; car ses soldatz sans aulcun delai ny retardement de lui veullent estre païés. Je vous asseure que ilz deviendront pauvres gens & ainsi perdront tous leurs biens, pourquoi je vous prie bien humblement de leur aider affin qu'ilz puissent estre païés. Car aultrement mes seigneurs supérieurs de ceste ville prendront résolution de renvoyer au pais les aultres gens qui sont encores aud: service de la ville de Dijon. Vous sçaves de quelle importance il vous est d'avoir gens de nostre nation, car ilz sont gens de bien & fidels ausquels on ose plus confier qu'à aulcune autre nation. Quand ils sont païés ils ne font aulcun dommage à personne que soit : par tant si aves aulcun besoin de nos gens je vous prie de procurer les paiements desd: Capps: affin qu'ilz soient contentés de leur solde que leur est due pour vous pourvoir ung aultre fois aussy bon service qu'ilz ont desia faict, quand vous aures faulte de cela ; car vous voies que sans les gens de nre nation vous ne poves rien faire. Vous verres aussi dans les lettres desd: mes seigneurs supérieurs le méscontentement qu'ilz ont sur cest affaire. Sur ce vous suppliant encore une fois avoir lesd: Capps: pour recommandés. Je prie Dieu etc.

LUDWIG PFEIFFER, Ritter.

Luzern ce 10 Juillet 1590.

III

(Arch. Mun. Dijon, 457 B, 93.)

MESSIEURS—

Le Colonel & advoyer n'ayant déclaré un malcontent touchant mes créanciers & aussi l'accusation faicté de ce que vous dites m'a occasionné ung singulier douleur ni étant culpable de l'un & de l'autre. Touchant les créanciers ayant le tout eschangé à mon compagnon Claude (Studer). Et de l'accusation n'ayant dit autre chose que la pure verité, c'est avoir respondu à Mr le Colonel qu'il nous restoit encore une bonne somme. Mais quoy que ce soit Dieu aydant, seray en bref chez vous & contentant un chascun,

car je nullement propose de quitter v̄re ville mais plutost vous en faire plus grands services, vous priant cepandant messieurs de haster notre payement. Car les soldats me pressent tellement par deça engageant mes biens & meubles que ce soit grande pitié. Me recommandant à vos bonnes graces vous prie avoir regarde de vos soldatz & continuer la bonne affection envers moy & eulx. Priant etc.

JOST KNAB Hauptmann.

de Luzern ce 25 d'aoust 1590.

IV

(*Arch. Mun. Dijon*, 457 B, 97.)

MESSIEURS,—

Vous sçavez très bien le bon service que les Capps: Jost Knab & Claude Studer, noz bourgeois, vous ont servy en ces troubles presents dans v̄re ville & soubz v̄re commandement. Ainsi ils espèrent vous tant en ḡnal que en particulier donner bonne satisfaction. Ils sont très prompts d'en faire dadavantage & en tel service vous rendre toutte fidelité; or estantz licenciés avec leurs soldatz jus'qu'au nombre de 100 & arrivez à la mayson sans avoir eu tant d'argent pour pouvoir satisfaire au payement de leurs soldatz & aultres créditeurs, ausquels ils sont devenu redevables pour empruntz & aultres choses à cause de ceste guerre. Ils nous ont fait remonstrer tout cella avec très humbles prières pour les secourir & favoriser envers vous pour avoir remède & estre secouru promptement, car autrement ilz se treuvent en grand hazard de leurs biens & vyes pour l'importunité desd: leurs soldatz lesquels veulent estre payez sans délai. Et puis que lesd: Capps: Knab & Studer par ordre des magistratz de ces Cantons sont separez & exclus du corps de leurs regimentz laissant à eulx leur poursuite envers vous pour avoir payement. Ils ont se servy aussi de n̄re ambassadeur, que dernièrement nous avons envoyé aulx princes de la Ste Union pour le regard des payements, qui nous a rapporté avoir heu la parolle de Monsieur le duc de Maine qu'il fallait demander cest payement desd: capps: de vous & que vous en soyez obligez de la faire. Nous vous prions & requérons donc de voulloir bien considérer des choses & la raison mesme, & donner ordre que lesd: Capps: soient contentés au plus tost comme nous nous asseurons de v̄re integrité & pourrons continuer ceste bonne volonté pour employer au service de vous & des estatcz catholiques. Car en faillant

nous serons contrains d'y pencer à aultre resolution contraire à noz voluntés; mais nous en attendrons meilleur exploit de v̄re accoustumé prudence & cependant pryerons Dieu etc.

Advoyer & Conseil de la ville de Lucerne.

Ce v^{me} jour de X^{bre} 1590

That matters had been for some time in a critical state with regard to the payment of the Swiss is proved by the following extract :

Mardy 2 jour de juillet 1590. Les maîtres des comptes ont demandé à parler à la cour, et ont dit qu'on a fait entendre à M^r de Sennecy que les privilégiés n'étoient tenus à payer les mil escus demandés par le maire de la ville pour partie de la solde des Suisses. Néantmoins le procureur de lad: ville avait été ce matin mesme en leur chambre leur faire entendre que les Suisses faisoient grand bruit & disoient que si on ne leur payoit cejourd'huy ils feroient ravager la campagne, & pour les empescher a suplié la chambre de donner deniers pour les payer.¹

V

(*Arch. Mun. Dijon*, 457 B, 210.)

MESSIEURS, NOS BONS VOYSINS & GRANDS AMIS,—

Nous vous avons escript beaucoup de fois & vous prions de faire contentement aux n̄res, dont n'avons eu responce que par ce que le S^r Constant de v̄re ville, estant par deça, nous a fait entendre. Nous vous asseurons que led: Constant a très bien faict son debvoir & remonstré qu'il aime bien fort sa patrie.

Nous vous envoions encores mil hommes des n̄res au service de Mons. le prince Du Maine & de M^r le Vicomte de Tavannes son lieutenant ḡnal. Nous vous prions comme noz bons amis leur faire bon traitement & ilz vous feront bon & fidel service & sur ce nous prions etc.

Messieurs vous donner bien tost ung bon roy catholique par le moyen duquel on puisse obtenir la paix tant désirée.

Advoyer & Conseil.

de Luzern 5 de juing 1593.

Nous vous supplions d'envoyer au devant de nosd: gens qui viennent à vous de voz forces qui les accompagneront ainsi comme il est accoustumé faire aux gens de n̄re nation.

¹ *Anciens Fonds*, 444. p. 117 (Bibl. de Dijon).

VI

(*Arch. Mun. Dijon*, 457 B. 230.)

MESSIEURS,—

Vous sçavey sans doubte de quelle manière nous avons, depuis neuf mois passés, sollicité le paiement de noz colonel & capps: qui ont servi en v̄re province l'an passé, dont nous avons pensé & espéré que, n'étant la somme plus grande, vous eussies à la fin tout fait & renvoié le capt: Hasli avec entière satisfaction de tout ce que leur est deu : néanmoings, non sans exprimer regret, il a esté si longtemps retenu sans avoir peu obtenir ce que luy est si justement deu, de quoi nous demeurons très grandement esbahys. Nous vous prions très affectueusement de vouloir donner ordre que led: capt: Hasli soit despeché & renvoié au pais si non a son entière satisfaction, au moins avec la moytié des despences ; car sans cela nous aurons juste occasion de nous en plaindre de vous devant tout le monde. Nous vous prions aussy de vouloir faire accompagner led: cap: avec garde suffisante sur le chemin, tellement qu'il puisse venir & retourner seurrement sans molestie ou aulcun empeschement & sur ce nous prions etc.

Datée & au nom de nous tous scellée avec le sceau ordinaire de noz très chers & féals amis, alliés & confédérés, en la ville de Lucerne le 24 de may 1594.

Advoyons, Landastatt, & conseils
des { très¹ Cantons catholiques
trois
Luzern, Unterwalden & Zug.

¹ *Trois* is the more probable reading.

The Huguenots under Louis XV.

1715--1774.

By CHARLES POYNTZ STEWART, F.S.A.Scot.

‘Quae tunc occiderunt commemorare volo: et nobis enim et posteris utilem horum video esse narrationem.

‘Quoniam et de naufragio Salvatis jucundum est fluctuum meminisse et tempestatis et ventorum . . .’

(CHRYSOSTOM, HOM. III. AD POPULUM ANTIOCHEN.)

UNHAPPY is the nation whose ruler is a minor, yet this was the calamity which overtook France on the death of Henri II, and continued for over half a century, if we except the too short reign of the great Henri Quatre.

Francis II was fifteen when he succeeded his father Henry II; Charles IX was only ten, and though Henry III was twenty-two he was not more fitted for the crown than his brothers.

The miserable eighteen months' reign of Francis was deadly to the Huguenots and marked by the ferocity of his tribunal of 'La Chambre Ardente' and the martyrdom of Councillor Dubourg for supporting Toleration, not Protestantism: these acts and his marriage to our beautiful Mary Queen of Scots are the only events by which his inglorious reign need be remembered. A fine medal, a copy of which is in my possession, was struck by Henry II in honour of the marriage of his son and is of interest to our national history.

Then came Henri Quatre, whose assassination placed his little son at the age of nine on the French throne as Louis XIII in 1610.

But even this was not the last of these misfortunes, for the crown of France was to devolve on far too youthful Sovereigns during the two following reigns, making the sixth instance in about 150 years.

Louis XIV, notwithstanding his numerous progeny, left no child entitled to succeed him, and in 1715 the crown devolved on his great-grandson, who, to the great detriment of the nation, was only five years old, and who reigned for no fewer than fifty-nine years as Louis XV.

His nephew Philippe, Duke of Orleans, was entitled to become Regent ; but Louis XIV had done everything in his power to prevent this. He had granted to 'legitimated' sons the full titles and privileges of Princes of the blood, and even the right of succession. All this he had confirmed by his Will, which was, however, revoked by Parliament. Philippe was appointed Regent, and he and Cardinal Dubois became chief advisers, nay, dictators to the young King.

'The Regent' has become synonymous with an evil-liver. Philippe's whole life was passed in the midst of the lowest vices ; in scoffing at every form of Religion, and parading the coarsest infidelity, in corrupting all who came within his influence ; and by his suicidal excesses he obscured brilliant talents and shortened his life, dying at forty-nine years of age in 1723. His most intimate friend and confidant was the Abbé Dubois, who on the same day received ordination in each of the Ecclesiastical grades, and within a week was installed Archbishop of Cambrai on June 7, 1721. Thirteen months after, he was created Cardinal by Clement XI in July 1721, and in 1723 was made Prime Minister. Though Dubois emulated, if indeed he did not surpass, the Regent in wickedness, this was no bar to his advancement by the Pontiff, to whom he had been of service ; and even the revered Oratorian Preacher and Bishop of Clermont, *Massillon*, signed the lying document by which he became guarantee for Dubois' 'purity of morals, religious knowledge, and fitness to control his Diocese of Cambrai.'

Yet Dubois has been depicted by his contemporaries as having corrupted the child-king and led him into every profligacy while his tutor ; and as having been the incarnation of every species of vice, debauchery, avarice, flattery, and falsehood—unblushing even when discovered. The ill-gotten wealth he accumulated was enormous, as besides all his other

preferments he held sixty-three benefices (seven abbeys); such was the condition of the French Church at this period. And it was owing to him and Father Lavergne de Tressan, the Regent's almoner and Bishop of Nantes, that the terrible Edict was passed empowering the infliction of galleys, confiscations, and death for heresy, on the evidence of one priest only.

Thanks to the influence of the above-mentioned De Tressan, Bishop of Nantes, friend of Massillon and of Dubois, the wealthy and infamous Prelate, a fearfully penal law was passed in 1724—the Bishop, who was most anxious to be created Cardinal, believing that he would by this enactment ingratiate himself with Rome and obtain the Hat. Founded on the lie that ‘there were no Calvinists in the Kingdom,’ the ‘Declaration’ ordained that no one was to attend any religious worship but the Roman Catholic, under penalty of death for men, perpetual imprisonment for women and for the officiating ministers. All who harboured or failed to betray the recusants were to go to the galleys: *all* parents were to have their children baptised at birth by the priest, and to bring them up as Catholics: all births to be reported to the priest. Doctors were to report dying persons, and priests to be admitted to converse with them *privately*: should they refuse the Catholic Sacraments they were to be punished with the atrocious severities inflicted upon the ‘Relapsed.’ Marriages between Calvinists were declared void unless performed by priests: children were to be held illegitimate unless baptised, and were not to be sent abroad for education or marriage; but they might be forcibly stolen for ‘conversion’: nearly every profession, office, trade or business was barred, unless a certificate of Catholicity were produced. In fact civilly and legally the Calvinists were non-existent, nor were they allowed to register their births, marriages, or deaths.

The usual horrors followed. Small flocks of worshippers who had assembled in caverns were hemmed in and suffocated by the smoke of fires kindled at the entrance; those in field or forest were either slaughtered by a surprise charge of cavalry, or dragged away for a worse, more prolonged agony—especially the ministers.

As this failed to stifle Calvinism at once, in 1745 was issued a yet fiercer Edict: ruinous fines were to be paid by the Huguenots of every place where a minister had been seized, and those who had not denounced him were to go to the galleys, whether they had been present at a meeting or not. Magistrates and soldiers, led by the priests to the most likely houses (which had been carefully noted beforehand), burst open doors and pillaged the contents, tearing children of *every* age from their parents (who were killed if resisting) to be transferred to Catholic schools and convents, and there educated at the parents' expense.

Cardinal La Rochefoucauld, the Bishops of Castres, Aire, Alais and Agen were amongst the high ecclesiastics who distinguished themselves by their extreme measures to such an extent that the 'Secretary of State for Religion' (Comte de St. Florentin) and Monclar, Procureur Général of the Provence Parliament, had to interfere.

If proof be required that the *Clergy* fomented these cruelties, we have but to turn to contemporary writers, such as De Breteuil, Joly de Fleury, de Voisins, de Monclar, Rulhières, Malesherbes, and many others, as well as to the Huguenot Diaries, and the records of men like Court and others equally above suspicion.

Not one but shews conclusively that the priesthood was the sole source of all these cruel enactments, and the priests the most active in carrying them out with the most intense severity, though protesting solemnly that they were acting with the gentle persuasiveness of a 'tender Mother Church.'

Yet all this time Jews were allowed every freedom for their religion, and civil status for birth, marriage, and death registration.

In 1757-8 the Provincial Governors put their troops at the disposal of the priests for dragonnades, which took place afresh in many provinces. In the former year the Bordeaux Parliament decreed that those Calvinists who had been married by *any ecclesiastic except the priest of their own village* were to be parted, never to cohabit again; their children were declared bastards and were not to inherit property from their parents.

So sickening was the execution of these laws that commanders of troops, governors of provinces, magistrates, and even a few of the clergy, did not enforce them fully, or advised moderation : amongst the clergy were Fleury, Abbés Bourlet-Vauxelles, Bartide, and Luzerne Bishop of Langres ; but they met with stern opposition from the general body of the Church.

Yet persecution still went on ; but the *last capital executions* took place at Toulouse, where Pastor Rochette suffered martyrdom as late as March 1762 only for preaching to his flock, and in the following month the unhappy septuagenarian Calas was tortured to death, though afterwards found by the Courts totally innocent of the crime imputed to him—namely, that of murdering his own son, fearing that he might become a Catholic.

Now let us see what sort of ruler it was for whom the Church fomented this fanaticism, and how did she act towards his notoriously evil life ? Originally endued with good and amiable qualities, these were crushed by his evil surroundings. He was surrounded by priests and confessors, yet they had no influence on his private life, although it became a scandal throughout Europe, far surpassing even that caused by his predecessor.

The first royal ‘confesseur’ of Louis XV was the Jesuit Abbé Fleury, appointed 1716, who owing to his advanced age (81) retired in 1722—a grievous loss to the King, as Fleury held comparatively moderate views. His successor was a Jesuit, *Father Taschereau de Lignières*, who was disliked by the Court, the public, and the clergy, as well as unpopular with his own society. Retiring in 1743 at the age of eighty-three, his place was taken by another Jesuit, *Silvain Perusseau*, who died in 1753. To him succeeded Philippe O. des Marets, Rector of the Noviciate of Jesuits in Paris.

We thus see that Louis XV was consecutively under the charge of Jesuit spiritual advisers, to say nothing of the high prelates at his Court ; but beyond obtaining cruel enactments to obtain ‘conversions,’ they seem to have done nothing towards the conversion of the Sovereign, who flaunted his

vicious habits unblushingly before all Europe and in the faces of the ecclesiastical shepherds of his soul. To detail the royal vices does not enter into the scope of these pages, nor shall they sully our considerations of this subject, yet we have been compelled to allude to them to show what the Church will tolerate when she obtains good value for so doing.

Some readers unacquainted with the details of this period of French history may accuse us of exaggeration; but let them remember as our proofs the names of de Mailly, de Chateauroux, de Vintimille, de Pompadour, Dubarry; and many more might be added. Their biographies are easily consulted, and we refer our readers to the 'Biographie Universelle,' to all the contemporary 'Mémoires,' of St. Simon and others. These will tell that which we cannot of the King and his Court and his infamous *entourage*, whose influence was such that they made and unmade ministers and directed the entire policy of France at home and abroad.

Edicts, dragonnades and executions followed each other at intervals, carried out by the infidel Maréchal de Richelieu and other unwilling instruments, who believed neither in their own faith nor in that of their victims, till 1760, when there arose a more tolerant or careless spirit due to the indifference of Louis XV for religious affairs, to the influence of Voltaire's 'Treatise on Toleration,' and to the scepticism of the Philosophie school. Bigotry led to irreligion, apostasy, and infidelity.

In a few instances the clergy supported the nascent reaction, but they were so rare that they only served to draw more attention to the obstinate opposition of the ecclesiastics as a body.

The Church had during the later years of the late reign been rent asunder by the disputes on Gallican Liberties and what we should call Erastianism, or the limitation of ecclesiastical power by the enlargement of secular authority in temporal matters within the ecclesiastical sphere. In its highest form it was protective of the ancient liberties of the Faith: with the clergy it only produced an increased religious animosity, a decrease of broader views, culminating in the greatest blunder ever perpetrated—Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and clearing the way for the Revolution.

Then came other internal feuds in that Church so proud of her unity, the Jesuit jealousy of Oratorians, and that most disgraceful exhibition of all, the miserable controversy between the two great pillars of the Church, Bossuet and Fénelon, and the malignant, the personal hatred displayed by the former against the latter, as well as against learned and pious members of the Abbey of Port Royal, who were treated as heretics, and driven from their homes.

These protracted internecine feuds largely drew off the attention of the Church from her hereditary victims the Huguenots, disgusted the nation, encouraged the infidel spirit, swept away all respect for religion, and finally led to the abolition of Christianity throughout France.

We have alluded to these events because it was not tolerance, but these preoccupations and clerical diversions, that caused the attacks on the Huguenots to be inflicted at longer intervals and dependent more on the caprice of provincial governors than on the bishops. The King took no active share in diminishing the hard lot of his faithful Huguenots, partly from indolence and love of pleasure, partly because his Parliaments and State officials took the initiative, seeing that it was necessary to put limits to the ferocious application by the clergy of the laws they had extorted by their base complaisance to the Sovereign.

Of these liberal-minded statesmen and magistrates were Rulhières and de Monclar, with Procureurs Généraux de Voisins, a State Councillor, and the great Malesherbes.

What chiefly aroused the legal mind in France was the appalling cruelty of ignoring the very existence of Huguenots, of denying them all civil rights, founding this on the falsehood that there were none left. Baptisms, marriages, and burials were still illegal and unregistered—all children were illegitimate; the complications were terrible, the injustice so cruel and glaring that some remedy had to be found. Before the law, Huguenots were non-existent, they had no civil rights of any kind.

But both the Church and the King postponed all reforms, and it was not till thirteen years after the death of the latter

that an Edict of Toleration was issued in 1787, sadly feeble, yet recognising that non-Catholics existed in France, though the terms Huguenot and Protestant never appear. Their civil marriages, baptisms, and burials were recognised and might be registered.

This, carried in spite of the strongest clerical opposition, does not, however, belong to the reign of the indolent and selfish Louis Quinze. All looked as though he would not discern the nearness of the national upheaval to which his reign had so largely contributed, but consoled his indifference by repeating the odious words: 'After me the deluge.'¹ The tendency to reaction towards intolerance to non-Catholics was not due in the smallest degree to the Church, but entirely to the broad-minded, legally trained parliaments and magistracy, who had to encounter every difficulty which could possibly be brought to frustrate their endeavours to obtain simple elementary justice. Even the exponents of Philosophy and the 'Encyclopédistes' never exhibited any interest in the Huguenots or zeal to shield them from the miseries still inflicted up to the very time of the slender Act of Toleration of 1787. Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, d'Alembert, Montesquieu, and the others of their school practically ignored the Calvinists, despising their religious tenets as they did their own.

We have conclusively proved that the Church was to the last the instigator, and originator, the aider and abettor of all the cruel enactments we have alluded to, the accessory and accomplice of the secular arm, which she compelled to enforce the penalties of these enactments—penalties so terrible that even the civil powers turned from them with loathing. And these things were done, be it remembered, not only in the Dark Ages, or the 'Ages of Faith,' as they are euphemistically called, but during the long reigns of monarchs, under whom France had arrived at the highest pinnacle of her fame and power, Napoleon's career alone excepted.

We have already remarked elsewhere that it was during the reigns of Louis XIV and Louis XV that France could

¹ The idea is as old as the Romans, who translated it from the Greek as 'Me mortuo, conflagret humus incendiis.'

boast of greater external polish, refinement, courtesy, and gallantry than at any other period of her history : of greater talent in art, science, literature, and philosophy, of more consummate lawyers and statesmen ; of greater eloquence in the pulpit, witness Fénelon, Bossuet, Massillon, Bourdaloue, and a host of others. Yet no voice was raised—not even that of the Church—in mitigation of cruelties worthy only of Nero and Caligula : Rome is silent while cognisant of all. Of the Pontiffs who occupied the chair of St. Peter during the periods of which we have treated at various times, not one had a word of mitigation for the persecutors, or of pity and mercy for our forefathers, not one word of censure for the foul lives of Sovereigns who purchased their silence by throwing to them the victims they desired.

We have searched in vain for such expressions from Rome, relative to the inhumanity of her votaries, or the vices of her favourite Kings ; and the sole, faint trace of one we have been able to discover was when Fitz-James, the Bishop of Soissons, and of British descent, *threatened* to deprive Louis XV of the Sacrament during the serious illness of the King, unless he put away the chief cause of his evil life. He did so, but immediately after his restoration to health fell again under the fascinations he had foresworn.

These confessors and prelates and Popes not only refrained from passing any ecclesiastical censures on the Sovereign, but stooped to condoning the vice and utilising the influence of profligates over their infatuated ruler, in order to further priestly aims and their own aggrandisement.

The Court was the grave of France, and the character and results of this reign have been thus well summed up : ‘ The King to the last exhibited the spectacle of disgraceful debaucheries and the yet worse example of his shamelessness in so doing. The Throne was crumbling, ruined by scandals, unredeemed by the glory of virtue.’

Moreover, the great forces which upheld monarchy and contributed to its splendour were perishing : the clergy had raised well-founded murmurs amongst the enlightened, and the indignation of the middle classes by its persecution of the

Jansenists, by its ridiculous yet cruel intolerance, and by the vices of a large number of its clergy : the nobility lost its influence, and Parliamentary rule was annihilated by Royal despotism : the finances of the nation were deplorable—the deficit enormous : misery and pauperism, universal and terrible. Such were the results of the combined rule of priestly and feminine influence. These were but the beginnings of a retribution such as Europe had never seen ; one which within twenty years was to visit on the innocent and helpless, especially on the clergy,¹ the punishments due to the sins of many generations of their forefathers.

And now I must close my remarks on this period of Huguenot history. The many and varied subjects you have so generously given me opportunities of laying before you, have been treated with considerable detail, yet it is hoped sufficiently lightly to preclude guiltiness of the defect mentioned by Voltaire : 'Le secret d'ennuyer est celui de tout dire' (*Sur la Nature de l'Homme*, verse 172).

¹ See 'Rochefort et les pontons de l'île d'Aix—Premières Persécutions contre le clergé pendant la Terreur,' by L. M. Dubois (Nantes, 1809); also a rare little volume published 1840 : 'Martyrologie du clergé français pendant la Révolution,' which I was fortunate enough to acquire some years ago. It gives a short biography of each victim.

APPENDIX

CARDINAL DUBOIS

THE rapid rise of this disreputable ecclesiastic is worthy of notice. Son of a country apothecary, he became server-student at the College St. Michel, preceptor first to a small shopkeeper's family, then to others of a better class, and though a layman till the day of his ordination (as given above) became abbé from having received the 'Abbaye de St. Just' from Louis XIV.

This was a reward from the latter for his services in aiding to bring about the marriage of Mademoiselle de Blois, his legitimated daughter, with his nephew the Duc de Chartres.

His ambition rose with his advancement, and when the Archbishopric of Cambrai was vacant, he boldly solicited, and (though actually a layman and married at the time) obtained that dignity, owing to the pressing intervention of the King of England, in whose pay he was. When Dubois asked the Regent's interest to obtain this preferment, the latter remarked 'You an Archbishop! Who would dare to make you even a priest?'

By complicated intrigues with our George I and Prince James Francis Edward Stuart, alternately supporting each; by strongly urging the acceptance by France of the obnoxious Bull Unigenitus; and by persecuting the Huguenots, he so ingratiated himself with the Papacy that he at last obtained the Cardinal's hat he had so long coveted. This base imitator of Wolsey died August 10, 1723, and was more worthy of the period of Louis XI and his ignoble favourites than of the enlightened days of the Bourbons.

Miscellanea.

I.—JOHN DE LA FONS AND MARTHA KNIGHT.

At the Public Record Office there is a certificate of the marriage of my great grandfather, John De La Fons, a naval officer, to Martha Knight of Lincoln's Inn Fields of the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Field, Middlesex, on December 22, 1784, at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields Church.

Martha Knight's sister married Thomas Brand, M.R.C.S., Surgeon Extraordinary to the Royal Hospital, Greenwich, and of Soho Square.

I shall be glad of any further information respecting this family of Knight.

(Communicated by Mrs. P. B. Hayward.)

II.—JOHN PALAIRET.

THE following petition which is amongst the State Papers was forwarded to the Secretary of State by the Bishop of Salisbury on April 19, 1748:—

THE CASE OF JOHN PALAIRET.

‘He is a French Refugee and has lived thirty-five years in England. In the 1715 he served in Scotland against the Pretender. Afterwards he was employed by the Queen to teach the Royal Children French, Writing and Accounts. She was pleased to order him upon the list for 100*l.* a year, which he lost as all the rest of the Teachers did, when the Queen of Denmark was married.

‘In Consideration whereof his Majesty was graciously pleased to grant him a Poor Knight's Place. He waited four years for the vacancy for it.

‘He has an Agency in the service of the States General, but that Place is not for life. And he has seven children and several distress'd Relations to maintain. He most humbly hopes that his Majesty will permit him to enjoy this Poor Knight's Place.’

S.P. Dom., Geo. II., cvi. 84.

(Communicated by Miss E. H. Fairbrother.)

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of the
Huguenot Society of London

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1920

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON
VOL. XII. No. 2

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON

MEETINGS OF THE SESSION 1918-19 HELD AT THE HOLBORN
RESTAURANT, HIGH HOLBORN, W.C.

FIRST ORDINARY MEETING, *Wednesday, November 13, 1918.*

GEORGE BEAUMONT BEEMAN, Esq., President, in the
Chair.

THE Minutes of the Annual Meeting held on May 8 were read
and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :

Mrs. Arthur Welch, 1 Cumberland Road, St. Albans.

Lieutenant Frederic Thompson Chamier, 55 Warwick Road,
Earl's Court, S.W. 5.

Edgar James Guérard Piffard, Esq., Daphne Lodge, Horsham,
Sussex.

Mr. W. H. Manchée read a Paper on ' Hogarth, his Huguenot
Friends and Pictures.'

SECOND ORDINARY MEETING, *Wednesday, January 8, 1919.*

GEORGE BEAUMONT BEEMAN, Esq., President, in the
Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on November 13, 1918, were
read and confirmed.

A Paper on ' The History of the Westminster French
Protestant School ' was read by Miss Susan Minet.

THIRD ORDINARY MEETING, *Wednesday, March 12, 1919.*
REGINALD ST. AUBYN ROUMIEU, Esq., Vice-President, in
the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on January 8 were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :

Bernard V. C. Ransome, Esq., Grenham House, Birchington-on-Sea.

Major Norman Victor Lacey Rybot, D.S.O., Hermitage View,
Le Dicq, Jersey.

Commander R. W. Hogarth, R.N., St. Stephen's Club, S.W. 1.

As a Fellow :

The University of Chicago, U.S.A.

Mr. Charles Poyntz Stewart, F.S.A.Scot., read a Paper
entitled ' La Terreur Blanche.'

THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, *Wednesday,*
May 14, 1919. GEORGE BEAUMONT BEEMAN, Esq.,
President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on March 12 were read and confirmed.

William Harold Darke Manchée, Esq., 4 Huddleston Road,
Tufnell Park, N. 7,

was elected a Fellow of the Society.

The Annual Report of the Council was read as follows :

*Report of Council to the Thirty-fifth Annual General Meeting
of the Huguenot Society of London.*

The Council has to report that during the past year the Society has lost eight Fellows by death and sixteen by resignation. Seven new Fellows have been elected during the Session. Thus the net losses to the Society have been seventeen.

Amongst the losses by death is included that of the Rev. G. W. W. Minns, F.S.A., a Vice-President of the Society for some years past ; also that of Mr. Alexander Louis Foucar, who was one of our Honorary Auditors last year and had been a Fellow since 1886.

During the course of the war allusion has been made in these reports to the part that has been played therein by Fellows of this Society as well as by the descendants of Huguenots generally. It is the expressed wish of several of our Fellows, in which the Council concurs, that a record should be prepared of the war services of Huguenot descendants connected in any way with this Society. To extend the list to make it include all who bear or bore a Huguenot name would probably be an impossible feat ; but the Council invites the co-operation of all the Fellows of this Society to make the record as complete as possible. It is felt that one effect of such a record would be to awaken interest in many in their Huguenot ancestry.

The Treasurer's Accounts appear in a new form this year for reasons which are set out in the memorandum which he has appended to them. The Income and Expenditure Account shows that after allocating a sum of £60 to the Publications Suspense Account there remained a surplus for the year of 4*l.* 1*s.*

The necessity for creating this Publications Suspense Account and its objects were sufficiently explained in the note which was appended to the Council's last report and printed and circulated with it amongst the Fellows. Although since the cessation of hostilities the difficulties of the printing trade in the matter of the restrictions on the supply of paper and the shortage of labour have been much eased, yet wages continue to rise with the result that the present cost of printing is something over 100 per cent. in advance of pre-war rates. Nevertheless the Council hopes that it will be possible to make arrangements before long at all events for the continuation of the Society's printed *Proceedings*.

In the meantime steady progress has been made with the transcription of the registers of the French Refugee Churches

preserved at Somerset House and as yet unprinted. The printing of Dr. Shaw's *Denizations and Naturalizations in England and Ireland, 1701 to 1800*, which has been much held up during the war, has now been resumed, and as far as can be foreseen the volume, together with a supplementary one of *Naturalizations of Foreign Protestants in the American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*, is likely to appear during the coming session of the Society.

It should be noted here that since the last Report, Part 3 of Vol. XI of the *Proceedings* has been duly issued to the Fellows.

The Society's dinners and meetings during the past session have been continued to be held at the Holborn Restaurant and have been well attended. The papers read have evoked much interest, as is proved by the discussions to which they have given rise.

In conclusion the Council has the pleasure of conveying the Society's thanks to its Honorary Officers for the devoted services they have rendered it during the past year, namely to Mr. A. Hervé Browning, its Treasurer, to Colonel D. G. Pitcher, its Secretary, and to Mr. William Minet and Mr. Harley M. Grellier, the Auditors.

Memorandum Appended to the Treasurer's Accounts for
1918.

Owing to the paper shortage and high cost of printing the Council decided early in 1918 to suspend in the meantime placing further orders for the printing of publications, and to set apart in that year such a sum as might seem both reasonable and possible to a Publications Suspense Account, in order that so soon as printing again becomes possible a fund should be available for that purpose.

In order to ascertain what amount might be so available it became necessary to alter the form in which our accounts have hitherto been cast, and to present them so drawn as to show the actual working result of the year. Such a change seemed desirable on other and more general grounds. So far

we have only had a Cash Account ; under the new system we shall know exactly what the surplus or deficit of each year has been.

With a view to future printing, transcribing has gone on during the year, and the cost of this (38*l.* 15*s.*) is of course included in the item ' Publications . . . 205*l.* 1*s.* 11*d.*' The surplus available after this charge had been made justified the further allocation of 60*l.* to Publications Suspense Account, which is accordingly shown at that figure in the Balance Sheet, thus making a total of 265*l.* 1*s.* 11*d.* allotted to Publications in 1918.

This being the first time our accounts appear in this form it may be well to add one or two explanatory remarks. The Income and Expenditure Account shows *only* such receipts and payments as are justly chargeable to 1918 ; we thus get in the Balance the actual result of the year's work, namely a surplus of 4*l.* 1*s.* Seeing that a Society such as ours does not look to accumulating profits, this result may be regarded as satisfactory.

We have from the first capitalised all Composition Fees. Up to the year 1915 they were invariably invested in Consols. In December 1915 we converted our holding of 1296*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.* Consols (which had cost 1233*l.* 15*s.*) into 864*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.* Four and a Half Per Cent. War Loan, and in July 1917 this was again converted into 909*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.* Five Per Cent. War Stock 1929-1947, the cost remaining at 1233*l.* 15*s.* All Composition Fees received since that date have been invested in the same Stock, so that the Composition Fees Capital Account is to-day represented by 964*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.* Five Per Cent. War Stock 1929-1947 costing 1286*l.* 5*s.* The actual market value of this, at middle price, was on December 31 last 911*l.* 13*s.* 2*d.*

The investments on General Fund Account which stand at cost (300*l.*) were worth on the same day 299*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.* This sum owes its origin partly to legacies and partly to the surplus of previous years.

The Browning Fund (100*l.*) was worth on December 31 99*l.* 9*s.* 5*d.*

With regard to the item ' Subscriptions and Entrance

Fees in Arrear,' advantage has been taken of the change in the manner of accounting to wipe off no less than 42*l.* which we consider irrecoverable, some dating back to 1914. The 31*l.* 10*s.* remaining we think may be regarded as good.

A. HERVÉ BROWNING,
Treasurer.

The ballot was taken for the Officers and Council for the ensuing year, with the following result :

Officers and Council for the year May 1919 to May 1920.

President.—George Beaumont Beeman.

Vice-Presidents.—The Right Hon. The Earl of Radnor ; Sir James Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I. ; William Minet, F.S.A. ; Sir William Wyndham Portal, Bart., F.S.A. ; Reginald St. Aubyn Roumieu ; Charles Poyntz Stewart, F.S.A.Scot.

Treasurer.—Arthur Hervé Browning.

Honorary Secretary.—Colonel Duncan George Pitcher.

Members of Council.—Richard Arthur Austen-Leigh ; Henry Martyn Cadman-Jones ; The Rev. William George Cazalet ; Robert William Dibdin ; Hugh Charles Sowerby Dumas ; E. Sydney Luard ; Major Oswald Cecil Magniac ; William Henry Manchée ; Francis Oliver Rybot ; Carl Schelling, L.D.S.R.C.S.Eng. ; The Rev. Louis Verdier ; Wyatt Wyatt-Paine, F.S.A.

The President then read his Address as follows :

ADDRESS TO THE THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
OF THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON, BY GEORGE
BEAUMONT BEEMAN, PRESIDENT.

THE Meetings of the Society during the past Session have been again held at the Holborn Restaurant and were, I am glad to say, well attended.

The papers read at these meetings have been of much interest.

In November Mr. W. H. Manchée dealt with 'Hogarth,

his Huguenot Friends and Pictures,' and the discussion which followed proved that the subject was of real interest.

In January the paper was read by Miss Minet, who gave an account of 'The Westminster French Protestant School.' The subject and its treatment were much appreciated by those present, and will, when the paper is printed, be of great interest to many who were unable to attend the meeting.

In March Mr. C. Poyntz Stewart, one of our Vice-Presidents, spoke on 'La Terreur Blanche.' At this meeting I was, unfortunately for myself, unable to be present, but I understand that Mr. Poyntz Stewart gave a most lively account of the religious troubles at Nîmes in 1815; thus he brought down to comparatively modern times his studies in French Protestant history, with which he has delighted the Fellows of the Society for some years.

As announced at the last Annual Meeting the Council considered that it was both desirable and necessary to refrain from putting any fresh work in the hands of the printers. It is, however, gratifying to know that, owing to the cessation of hostilities, the printers have been able to resume work upon Dr. Shaw's *Lists of Denizations and Naturalizations*. These volumes contain the lists for the period between 1700 and 1800, and include Lists of Naturalizations of Foreign Protestants granted by the American Colonies under an Act of George II.

Steady progress has been made with the transcription of French Church Registers, and thus preparation is being made for the time, we hope not far distant, when printing can be resumed by the Society. It is satisfactory to learn that paper is more plentiful and not quite so costly, but, on the other hand, wages in the printing trade are very high, and consequently the cost of printing shows no sign at present of approaching its pre-war rate. It is hoped, however, that arrangements may be made, before long, to resume the printing of the *Proceedings* of the Society.

It is unfortunate that while the Elections of Fellows have been fewer than usual during the past year, the losses from

resignation and other causes have been considerably above the average of recent years. Among these, however, are included a number of Fellows who have not been heard from during the last few years and whose names have consequently been removed from our list. We hope, however, that we may yet be in a position to include them again among our Fellows. It is with sorrow that we have heard of the deaths of six Fellows during the past year, as well as the deaths of two others which took place about three years ago.

The following are the names of those thus permanently lost to the Society :

MR. HENRY M. LESTER, of New Rochelle, New York, who died in July 1916, joined our Society in 1888, and was also a member of the Huguenot Society of America.

CONTE UGO BALZANI, who died about 1916, had been one of our Honorary Fellows since 1892, and was a former President of the Reale Società Romana di Storia Patria.

MISS CHASE, who died May 2, 1918, was elected a Fellow in 1907. She was connected with the families of Turquand and Deneu.

MISS ALICE CECILIA CAROLINA GAUSSEN, who died on July 14, 1918, had been a Fellow of the Society since 1901. Besides the family of Gausсен, she was connected with those of de Nogaret, de Montcalm-Goyon, and de Massia.

COLONEL EDWARD MATTHEY, C.B., who died on October 21 at the age of eighty-two, joined us in 1895 and served upon our Council. He was connected with many Huguenot families, including those of Turquand, Grellier, and Bonhôte.

MR. HENRY DU CROS died on December 21, 1918. He was well known outside, but never took an active interest in the affairs of, our Society, although he became a Fellow in 1907.

MR. ALEXANDRE LOUIS FOUCAR, who died on January 2 last, had been a regular attendant at our meetings from the time of his election in 1886 until first the illness of Mrs. Foucar and then his own ill-health rendered it impossible for him to come except occasionally ; but he always showed his keen interest in the Society by the number of friends whom he

introduced and induced to become Fellows. He had served on our Council, and last year acted as one of our honorary auditors.

THE REV. GEORGE WILLIAM WALTER MINNS, LL.B., F.S.A., who died on February 15, aged eighty-one, was elected a Fellow in 1895, served on our Council, and was one of our Vice-Presidents. He was a keen antiquary, and frequently took part in the discussions on the papers read at our meetings.

I think that it is not necessary to make any further comments on the matters referred to in the Report of the Council.

Early this year I paid a visit to America, and this visit led me to think of the influence which the French Protestant Refugees had exerted upon the early history of the Colonies and at a later period upon the War of Independence and the series of events which led up to it.

While in the City of Boston I took the opportunity to visit the Collection of the Bostonian Society in the Old State House, and also the Armoury of the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company of Boston (an offshoot of the H.A.C. of London). This armoury is in Faneuil Hall. On the wall of the stairway is a tablet stating that the Hall was built as a Market House by Peter Faneuil, who was descended from a family of French Protestant Refugees. A little higher up was another tablet to James Bowdoin, also of French Protestant Refugee descent and Governor of the State of Massachusetts in 1790. Reading these two inscriptions occasioned the thought that it might be interesting to give the Fellows of this Society a short talk upon the French Protestant Refugees in the American Colonies, or as they are now the United States of America.

The subject does not seem inappropriate on this occasion, because this country and France have been so closely united with America during the war which we all hope is now happily ended.

I have thought it advisable to explain how I came to choose my subject, and I hope that, although much of what I am going to read is not new, yet it may be interesting to

everyone, especially as, I believe, no paper dealing as a whole with the French Protestant settlements in America has been read before the Society.

There were two early attempts to settle Huguenots in what is now the State of Carolina. The first in 1562 at Port Royal. Here it may be mentioned that these settlers first gave the name of 'La Caroline' to the country round their settlement, and although the name lapsed for a time yet the English Colonists who settled there in the time of Charles II revived the name in honour of their own King. A second attempt was made near the same place a few years later, but this time the Spaniards, who at that time claimed sovereignty over that part of the Atlantic coast which was then called Florida but now forms Florida, Carolina, and Georgia, attacked the French settlement, captured the fort, and hanged the survivors, attaching to the bodies a paper with this inscription : 'Hanged as heretics, not as Frenchmen.' This insult to France was avenged not by the French king but by a private gentleman of France, who organised an expedition, surprised the Spaniards, and hanged his prisoners, affixing the inscription, 'Hanged as assassins, not as Spaniards.' When he returned home he found that a price had been put upon his head, and he had to live long in concealment to avoid being hanged himself for upholding the honour of his country.

There was also an attempt to found a colony of French Protestants in what is now Nova Scotia, but these efforts failed to achieve any permanent settlement.

Probably the first successful settlement of Refugees was in Massachusetts. In the time of James I the whole coast-line and the country behind, from Georgia to the North of Maine, was called Virginia. In 1606 the King divided this region into two portions and by Letters Patent allotted South Virginia to the London Chartered Company and North Virginia to the Plymouth Chartered Company. North Virginia was also called New England and embraced the country north of the Hudson River. In 1620 the Pilgrim Fathers landed and founded New Plymouth, and from that time settlements took place in various portions of what is now the State of

Massachusetts. In 1621 certain parties of Walloon refugees came through Holland and settled here. About this time there was considerable trouble in France, and in 1629 La Rochelle, which was the stronghold of the Huguenots in Western France, fell after a prolonged siege. We know that from about this time until 1662 a considerable number of French Protestants took passage to a country belonging to Great Britain, and Monsieur Weiss believes that their destination was Massachusetts. If this be the case, then it is possible that an entry in our Vol. XVIII of *Denizations and Naturalizations*, edited by Dr. Shaw, may refer to one of these emigrations.

‘1624/5, Jan. 5. Giles de Beaumont, gent, born in France, to be a denizen of England and Virginia,—upon his humble petition and offer to furnish himself and some number of persons into Virginia at his own charges;—with special privilege not to pay any more custom or subsidy for his goods than natural born subjects,—confirming also to him all such lands and liberties in Virginia as by the Commissioners for the Plantation, H.M. shall be advised.’

I am inclined to think that this gentleman was bound for North Virginia and not that part which we are accustomed to call Virginia, as there is no record of any settlement in the State of Virginia for some years later. It appears certain that from about this date (1625) various parties of Refugees did settle in Massachusetts, and that by 1662 the French in the neighbourhood of Boston were in considerable numbers. In 1686 a settlement was organised at New Oxford and received a grant of 11,000 acres of ground; in the same year a French church was organised in Boston. Collections were made throughout the colony at this time to relieve the Refugees who were arriving from France.

In 1613 the Dutch merchants erected a fort near Albany, in what is now New York State, and claimed the territory around as belonging to Holland, but when ordered by the representative of the Virginia Company to acknowledge the

authority of Great Britain they submitted. Shortly afterwards they again asserted the right of Holland to the country, and in 1621 the Dutch Republic granted a tract of country on both sides of the Hudson River to the Dutch West India Company. This tract embraced part of New Jersey, New York, and part of Connecticut, and was known as New Netherlands. In 1664 Charles II granted this and other territory to the Duke of York, afterwards James II. An expedition was sent out, the Dutch submitted, and from that time this district was included in the British provinces of North America. In 1656 we find that in New Amsterdam—now New York—the French Protestants were sufficiently numerous and influential, so that public documents were drawn out not only in Dutch and English but also in French.

In 1686 the French Church in New York had become so important that it was considered to be the Metropolitan Calvinistic Church of the New World. About this time a new settlement was made at New Rochelle, about sixteen miles from New York.

The Refugees were not admitted, however, to naturalisation in this colony until 1703. The Governing Council of Maryland on the other hand naturalised all the French Protestants who had settled in that province as early as 1666. This is the more remarkable as this territory was granted by Charles I to Lord Baltimore, himself a Roman Catholic, in order that those of that religion who suffered disabilities in England might settle there without violating the laws of England. It is a curious commentary on religious differences that while this colony was founded specially as an asylum for Roman Catholics, yet that very soon it received as settlers Protestants from France driven out by a Roman Catholic king; Episcopalians from the northern settlements driven out by Nonconformists; and lastly Nonconformists from the southern settlements driven out by Episcopalians.

As a result this colony was the first to naturalise French Protestants, and was for a long time the only one in which the Refugees were naturalised without unnecessary trouble.

By 1685 the number of French refugees was very con-

siderable, and in 1690 many other families settled here, while their numbers were constantly added to by families which migrated from other colonies, especially Virginia.

The territory of Carolina, later divided into the States of North and South Carolina, was granted to a Chartered Company by Charles II in 1663. There had been some settlements made by English colonists from 1630 onwards, and the old French name was revived.

Soon after 1663 the town of Charlestown was founded, and we find that three French Protestants—Richard Batin, Jacques Jours, Richard Deyos—were invested with the rights of free tenants and placed upon a footing of complete equality with the English colonists. There are various similar concessions made to Huguenot refugees in the ensuing years.

In 1680 forty-five French Protestants were landed from the frigate *Richmond*, their expenses having been paid, it is said, by Charles II. Soon after a further number, sent at the expense of the English Government, arrived and soon found homes. In 1684 we find that the Commissioners under the Brief-Collection sent out a number from England, while in 1686 more than a thousand French Protestants are said to have sailed for Carolina from various Dutch ports. In 1687 some 600 refugees were sent out at the cost of the Bounty Fund. They were provided with farming implements and other tools. Carolina, owing to the influence of the Lords Proprietors, was strongly Episcopalian, and the colonists were almost bigoted in their attachment to the English Church, yet full liberty of conscience and of worship was accorded to the French Protestant refugees, and in 1697 they were naturalised. The Lords Proprietors were keenly interested in the prosperity of their possessions, and therefore to encourage the settlement of the French granted them considerable tracts of land on an annual rental of one penny per acre.

Bancroft says that—

‘Here the exiled Calvinists could fearlessly celebrate their worship in the midst of the forest and mingle the notes of their Psalms with the sound of the breeze that murmured through the

mighty oaks. Their Church was at Charlestown. Thither they repaired each Sunday from all parts of their plantations scattered over the shores of the Cooper. Profiting by the tide, whole families arrived in light canoes, preserving a religious silence, broken only by the plash of the oars and by the stir of the flourishing village that stood at the confluence of the two rivers.'

In 1705 was founded the town of Jamestown which soon contained a hundred families.

It would appear that Carolina received the greater part of the Refugees who went to America from 1680 onwards, and that many more gradually went there from other provinces. The warm climate was particularly congenial to these exiles from France. It was a fertile country, whose flowers, fruit trees, and singing birds all served to remind them of their native land.

That the Refugees long retained the love of France is shown by a project which was submitted to the Governor of the French Colony of Louisiana after the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697. This memorial was signed by 400 families who had fled to Carolina, begging permission to settle in Louisiana, only stipulating for liberty of conscience. The refusal to accede to this request destroyed the last illusions of the Refugees in Carolina. All hope vanished of their being allowed to remain French, so they resigned themselves to their exile and attached themselves more strongly to their adopted country.

In 1733 some 370 families arrived from Switzerland, many of whom were French Protestants who had taken refuge in that country, and to them were granted 40,000 acres of land. Each adult also received £40 in money.

In 1764, 212 exiles from France arrived to strengthen the already numerous French community in Carolina. The English Government supplied these refugees with the means to escape from oppression in France and to seek liberty in America. They quitted France singly to avoid the vigilance of the local authorities, and on their arrival in England they were collected at Plymouth, whence they were taken to Charlestown. A

collection was made in the province to provide for their needs. Land was given them to clear and soon a new town was built, to which they gave the name of New Bordeaux, in remembrance of the chief town of the province of Guienne from which many of them came.

Virginia, that is the province which now forms the State of that name, received about 1662 some Refugees, who in 1671 were admitted as citizens of the province. In the accounts of the money expended out of the Collections under the Brief, there is an entry May 3, 1683, of passage money for 'fifty-eight persons to Virginia.'

In 1690 many French soldiers who had fought in the wars of William III, together with their families, were sent to this province, mainly to Mannikin Town on the St. James River about twenty miles from the City of Richmond. In 1699 some 300 families were sent to join these settlers, and about 1700 a further 300 families. This settlement does not appear to have been very prosperous, and many individuals gradually migrated either to North or South Carolina.

In the Rawlinson MSS. there are some papers relating to the settlement in 1700. There is the agreement between Sir William Phipard of the town of Poole in the county of Dorset, knight, owner of the ship called the *Nassau* of Poole of the burthen of 500 tons, now in the River Thames, and Moses Jaqueau and others all of London, merchants, that the ship shall be fitted out and victualled by December 5, 1700, ready for the conveyance of the passengers hereunder-mentioned to the town of James Towne in Virginia. The provision was to be the same sort as provided for the ship's company. Convenient lodgings or 'cabbins' for the said passengers were to be fitted, two passengers to an apartment, or 'hammocks' might be provided. The ship was to remain at Blackwall for three days after December 5 to receive 'all such French passengers with their apparell and household goods.' The master of the ship was to deliver to the master and overseers of the passengers every Monday morning during the continuance of the voyage the full allowance of bread, butter, and cheese for that week, the rest of their provisions

being distributed to them daily. The charterers of the ship were to send on board at least 150 passengers and to pay 5*l.* sterling per head for each adult passenger and at least for the 150 passengers aforesaid, always reckoning two passengers under twelve years of age to go and be paid for as but one passenger. There is provision that if the ship has to put into any port owing to storms or adverse winds the passengers may go on shore if they wish, and that when the wind is favourable and the ship is ready to start the passengers shall be given twenty-four hours in which to return to the ship, after which time the master may sail even though the passengers have not all returned. There is a memorandum attached to the agreement that

‘every passenger above the age of 6 years shall have 7 lbs. of bread each week and to a mess of 8 passengers in a mess two pieces of pork at 2 lbs. each for five days in a week with pease and two days to have two 4-lb. pieces of beef a day and pease or one 4-lb. piece of beef with a pudding with pease. And if at any time it shall happen that they are not willing the kettle should be boyled, or by bad weather it cannot, then in such case every passenger shall have 1 lb. of cheese every such day and the children under 6 years of age to have such allowances in flour, oatmeal, fruit, sugar and butter as the overseers shall judge convenient.’

The actual amount of passage money paid was 892*l.* 10*s.* for 197 French passengers to James Town. There is a list of 191 persons who went in the *Nassau*, headed by Monsieur Latané, Ministre.

There is also a list of 169 French refugees who embarked in London on November 20, 1700, in the ship *Peter and Anthony Gally* of London for James River in Virginia. The first name is Monsieur B. de Joux, Minister. The commander of the ship, Daniel Perreau, signed a receipt for 775*l.* sterling passage money for the said passengers. This amount at 5*l.* per adult would mean that about twenty-eight were under twelve years of age, and then a third list of 145 persons of the second convoy for Mannikin Town dated December 1, 1700.

Another paper contains ‘An account of what Contributions the French Refugees have received.’

Some of the entries are curious, for the gifts were not only in money but also in kind.

'John Schutt 5*l.* in snuff boxes.

Mr. Jagneau 6*l.* 5*s.* in one Fusil. (There were several other Fusils given.)

Mr. Perodin 3*l.* 15*s.* in Taffity Caps.

Mrs. Perodin and her daughter, Fringes, gloves and masks.

Mr. Maille 2*l.* 10*s.* in gloves and hatbands.

Mr. Rambonnet 25*l.* in Canary wine and other goods.

Mrs. Perrodin yet 5*l.* in Linnen Cloth.

Mr. de Joux 30*s.* in a note upon a man in Ireland who is not to be found.'

And so forth.

Following this is 'An account of ye money layd out of the Contribution.' The first entry is 'For printing 3000 projects and 1500 Tickets,' and later on 'For ye charges of Mr. Bord, minister, and of his horse from 7 March 1699 to ye 3rd of April and for all ye Copys and Maps left in severall Citys of Holland, Germany and Switzerland and in Geneva and of severall bookes and printing of 2000 projects in Geneva.'

Thus it would seem that this was a well-considered project for dealing with the Refugees, not only in England but also on the Continent.

Other entries refer to purchases of 'fusils, coutlas, bagonetts, blunderbushes, and flints.'

'Shoemakers' Tools for John Breton.

One piece of Druggett.

40 Quires and again 14 Quires of paper.

One great Trunck, Cisers, Knives, thread, wool etc.

Garden seeds, flax and hemp.

Sawes, axes, spades and other tooles.

Several Coates, wastcoats, briches etc.

One allarme watch and a great bell watch.

Blew Cloth, handkerchiefs, cravats etc.

Netts, thread and Leather for shoes.

3 Tin pans, one Cullinder, one Sifter, one brass Kettle.

2 hatchetts etc.

2 Augers, 2 hoes, 1 handsaw, 2 Tin Candlesticks.

Canvas, Kersey etc.'

Finally there is an entry for 'Several other Extraordinary charges not mentioned here and some loss upon ye money, as guineas, Spanish pistoles and German crowns, Leight and others not having paid wholly their contributions.'

There is another 'account of what money received for ye transport and supplies of the French refugees' and how this was expended.

Only one entry need be quoted.

'To the Carpenter and workmen who have cut downe, sawne and prepared timbers for ye Church and Minister's house.'

The Government of the Province in December 1700 passed a resolution that 'It is the advice and opinion of the Council that no more French Protestant Refugees may be sent in.' However when the ships arrived early next year, it appears that the necessary measures were taken to help in the settlement of the newcomers.

So in February 1701 there was prepared 'A list of the Refugees who are to receive of ye Miller of falling Creek Mill, one Bushel a head of Indian Meale monthly.' This list contains 218 names. To it is a note:

'If any of the above named don't settle above or leave their settlement or dye, their names are to be blotted out upon ye advices of Mr. de Joux or Mr. Philippe given every month to ye said miller.'

In March His Excellency Francis Nicholson, Esq., His Majesty's Lieutenant and Governor-General of Virginia, with the Honourable Council ordered a Collection to be made in the province for the support of the Refugees. This Collection was not only in money but also

'Indian Corn 250 bushells besides private donations, quantity not known, whether Corne or wheat, horses, Beeves, meat, fish &c. as well as Tools.'

We have the names of three ministers who were with the settlers at this time, Messrs. de Joux, Philippe, and Latiné. These ministers were apparently nominated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, for there is a letter from Mr. Jean Forent (who at this time was a Minister of the Churches of La Patente in London) addressed to the Archbishop, in which he states

that he has been informed that he was one of eight ministers appointed to go to America, and therefore he presents his very humble supplication that he may not be sent on this voyage for the three following reasons :

1. Because of his advanced age.

2. Because of his bad health, and particularly because he suffers from ulcers in his mouth which will not permit him to take this voyage, except at the peril of his life according to the certificate of the doctor and surgeon which he presents herewith.

3. Because for twelve years he has ministered to two churches in London.

In conclusion he asks that his objection to undertake this work in which he cannot give satisfaction may not prevent his still receiving the allowance from the Royal Bounty Fund.

Among the other provinces it may be mentioned that about forty or fifty families settled at Narragansett, Rhode Island, in 1686, but were driven out by the other settlers owing to disputes about the title to the land which they occupied, so that by 1692 there were only two or three families remaining.

There are traces of a few isolated settlers in Connecticut, but the French refugees never appear to have come in any considerable numbers to this province.

Pennsylvania gave shelter to many emigrants who had first settled in England, but who were afraid to remain there in the disturbed and uncertain condition of the country under James II. There is also an entry of money paid (Brief) for passage of refugees to Pennsylvania in May 14, 1689.

Among the Colonial Office Papers (C.O. 5/982) there is a list of French Protestants that have left France for their religion and are now residing in New Jersey. This list, dated April 30, 1750, contains 184 names, of which 38 are stated to be very poor.

I have now run very briefly over the various provinces in which I have found that settlements took place of French Protestant refugees in what is now the United States of America. Probably this outline is very incomplete, but it may serve as a foundation upon which some Fellow of the

Society may prepare a paper dealing more fully with this question, which I think is one that this Society may well consider as coming within its purview.

The French settlers in America took their share in the various campaigns against the Indians and French until the time of the American Revolution, and when the struggle between the Colonies and Great Britain became acute they very largely sided with the Colonists. The full history of the part that the descendants of the French refugees took in this struggle is too long for me even to attempt to epitomise to-night, but it is well to remember, that in 1774, when the Bostonian Committee was formed, Monsieur Faneuil placed the Hall which bears his name at its disposal for its deliberations. The Hall has been called the Cradle of American Liberty. It was Paul Revere who gave the signal which called together the 'minute men' who opposed the British troops at Lexington. Henry Laurens, the son of a refugee, was the President of the General Committee appointed by the people of South Carolina in 1775, and later became the first President of the National Congress elected after the Declaration of Independence in 1782, and was joint signatory with Franklin, Adams and Jay of the Treaty with France. His son, John Laurens, was first a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Colonial Army, and then was sent to France upon a special mission by Congress, where he obtained a subsidy from the French King, and a guarantee for a loan from Holland, together with a promise of assistance both on sea and land.

In the first Convention Assembly of South Carolina four members were of Refugee descent, while a considerable number served with the Militia of the Province.

Had it not been for Washington and Franklin the world might have given more honour to the names of John Bayard and Elias Boudinot, of Philadelphia, John Louis Gervais and Francis Marion, of Charlestown, John Jay, of New York, all of whom exercised great influence in the Councils of the United Provinces, which soon became the U.S.A.

Of the seven Presidents who watched over the proceedings of the National Congress at Philadelphia during the War of

Independence, three were of Refugee origin—viz. Henry Laurens, John Jay, and Elias Boudinot, and one of them, John Jay, was one of the four Commissioners who signed in 1782 the preliminary treaty by which Great Britain recognised the Independence of the United States.

There are many other names of more limited importance connected with this period which there is no time to mention ; neither is there time to review the names of those who at this early period of American life were distinguished in banking, commerce, and manufacture ; but enough has been said to show that the settlements of French refugees planted by England in her American colonies exercised a considerable influence upon the conduct of the Colonial measures which ultimately led to the founding of the Great Republic of the West.

Ecole de Charité française de Westminster.

By SUSAN MINET.

THE object of the Society being to put on record all and every manifestation of Huguenot energy at a time when the Huguenots were still a 'peuple à part,' no excuse is needed for this sketch of their yet surviving school.

Though two papers concerning it have appeared in the *Proceedings*,¹ I am in no way treading on ground already covered, for these papers dealt only with its benefactors and its children; here I attempt a fuller history of the institution, adding lists of its Officers and Directors.² Later information has likewise enabled me to make various additions and corrections to Mr. Beaufort's lists of children.³

The material from which to compile the history of the school is somewhat scanty⁴; still as its Treasurer I have had access to what little remains, and it affords me pleasure to help to preserve the records of yet another Huguenot institution, one too which was dear to many of our forbears as shown by its lists of Directors and benefactors.

The origin of the school is to be found in the 'Projet pour fonder dans la ville ou liberté de Westminster une école pour l'entretien et pour l'éducation des pauvres françois réfugiés,'⁵ issued by its eight founders. Unfortunately this document is undated, but we know from other sources that 1747 was the actual year of the foundation. We can imagine these Frenchmen, refugees or the sons of refugees, now

¹ Vols. ii. and iv.

² See Appendix III.

³ See Appendix IV and V.

⁴ See Appendix II for rough schedule of this.

⁵ See Appendix I. I owe the discovery of this to Mr. Beeman. It is in Dr. Williams's Library, 8 C, gg 4.

well-established tradespeople, and wishful to do something for their less fortunate compatriots. Having considered the many charity schools endowed and supported 'parmi cette nation si estimable par sa charité'—for so feelingly do they qualify the English—they decided to found a similar institution for poor French children. Their *Projet* must have found warm supporters among the Huguenot community, for though we know nothing of the actual beginnings of the school, our records show that already in 1752, five years after its foundation, it numbered over a hundred regular subscribers.

As might be expected the founders were intimately connected, and the registers of the London French churches help us to trace the ties of blood and friendship existing between them. The *Projet* only gives us their surnames and addresses, but as all were Directors of the school, details can be added from our records; and I add an amplified list of these worthies, who were David and Etienne Hubert, father and son, Pierre Foullé, diamond cutter, Paul Elin and Daniel Paillet, Isaac Roberts (or Robert), watchmaker, André Morelon, Jean Mongeon.

The Huberts head the list and must have been the prime movers. A portrait hangs in the committee room of 'Monsieur Hubert, Founder of the School,' but whether it represents the father or the son I know not.

The Hubert and Foullé families belonged to the Thread-needle Street Church, as is proved by its registers and '*Livre des Témoignages*'; we can therefore find out something about them.

Etienne, son of David Hubert and Jeanne Motteux, was born on December 21, 1715, and in 1738, at the age of eighteen, was admitted to full membership of the Church, having as *témoin* Jean Motteux, a relation on his mother's side. Etienne's elder sister Magdeleine became the wife of Pierre Foullé, an *ancien* of the Church and our first Treasurer, and we find both Etienne Hubert and David le grandpère standing as godfathers to the Foullé children.

Whence came this family of Hubert to which we owe so much? Possibly our David was the one who joined the Church

on May 31, 1702, bringing a témoignage from Leyden : and I suggest that he may well be the David Hubert named in the Boislín Trust about the year 1750.¹ The last notice we have of him is in 1754, and his son Etienne died only ten years later. Perhaps the latter was an apothecary, as in 1758 Guillaume André (one of the boys in my list, Appendix IV) was apprenticed to a Monsieur Etienne Hubert, Apoticaire.

James Daniel Hubert and Oliver Hubert, the latter Etienne's younger brother, were among the early subscribers ; and an Isaac Hubert continued to subscribe till 1795 ; but this family gives us no more Directors.

There was another David Hubert belonging to the Savoy Church ; he had joined it in 1687 at the age of twenty-two, coming from la Rochelle,² and it is probably this David Hubert who was one of the Church's elders in 1739.³

To go back to the Foullé family, in the same ' Livre des Témoignages ' of the Threadneedle Street Church, we find ' Pierre Foulé, 18 ans, de Paris, témoin son père, 24 Sep. 1733,' probably Magdeleine Hubert's husband, and seemingly the son of Jean Foullé who had joined the Church in 1728, and who also came from Paris, for in 1727 we find Jean and Pierre Foullé standing together as godfathers to Jean Pierre Saulnier,⁴ whose mother was Pierre Foullé's sister.⁵ And as might be expected Jean Foullé was godfather to the first of Pierre's children to be baptized in the Threadneedle Street Church.

The registers of the Churches of les Grecs and the Savoy and the ' Livre des Conversions ' of the latter church help us to identify other founders. Daniel Paillet, born on July 30, 1704, was the son of another Daniel, ' gantier en Earle Street à l'enseigne du gant jaune.' Daniel the father had joined the Savoy Church in 1687, at the age of 18, bringing a ' témoignage '

¹ See Mr. H. Wagner's article, *Proceedings*, viii. 385.

² *Conversions . . . de l'Eglise de la Savoye*, p. 28.

³ *Vide* the authority from the Consistory of the French Church of the Savoy to Mr. Fouace and another to receive and to sell two exchequer annuities, November 6, 1739. A deed belonging to the Savoy church.

⁴ *Registers of the Church of the Savoy and les Grecs*.

⁵ *Vide* the baptism of another of her children, *Threadneedle Street Registers*, iv. 164.

from Cozes (Charente Infre), and in 1700 he had married Mlle. Judith de Logne de Sédan.¹ Daniel the son married Louise Martin on July 19, 1729, and later we find Paul Elin and Isaac Robert as godfathers to one of the Paillet children.

Paul Elin married Elizabeth Gonzal on September 12, 1738, and among the godparents of their numerous family are David Hubert, Isaac and Gédéon Gosset (both Directors of the school), and Louise Paillet, no doubt Daniel's wife. Paul Elin and Daniel Paillet seem to have been partners, so it was natural that Paul should stand sponsor for Daniel's child and Madame Daniel for Paul's. This careful record of godparents which distinguishes Huguenot registers is an invaluable assistance in tracing family ties. In this connection it is interesting to note that more than two years before their marriage we find Paul Elin and Elizabeth Gonzal standing together as godparents to Gédéon Gosset's daughter Elizabeth Marie Anne.²

In the same registers of les Grecs and the Savoy is recorded the marriage of André Morelon, widower, to Marie Anne Mongeon (November 10, 1740); perhaps the bride was related to our founder Jean Mongeon.

Isaac Roberts was probably a man of some note, for in 1769 we find him as one of the trustees of the Savoy Church³; and again in 1771 as one of the trustees appointed to administer the deceased Earl of Thanet's charity for the distribution of bread among the French Protestant refugees and their descendants in London.⁴

I have called these eight men who put their names to the 'Projet' the founders of the school, although certain writers have already given that title to another of our early Directors, namely the *galérien* André Bousquet. According to Agnew⁵ he was 'the first promoter of the school,' but Smiles⁶ and

¹ and ² *Registers of the Church of the Carré and Berwick Street.*

³ Burn, *History of Foreign Protestant Refugees*, 1846, p. 111.

⁴ See the *Charity Commissioners' Report on the French Protestant Episcopal Church of the Savoy and Charities connected therewith*, 1901.

⁵ *Protestant Exiles from France*, 1871, ii. 311.

⁶ *The Huguenots in England and Ireland*, 1880, p. 367.

Haag¹ improve on this phrase and call him the actual founder; as such too he appears in our *Proceedings*.² He was certainly one of the first Directors and a great benefactor of the school, and no doubt these latter writers were pleased to suggest so worthy a Confessor as the founder of the establishment, a claim which the facts I have adduced seem to exclude.

There were two *galériens* of the name of André Bousquet, and there seems some confusion as to the identity of ours.³ On the advice of Monsieur N. Weiss I disregard the information given in Haag, Tome III., in favour of the later and more correct notes of Tome VI. I have likewise to thank Monsieur Weiss for much help in the piecing together of the life of our André Bousquet. He was a native of Valleraugue in the Cévennes, and was living at Nîmes as a stocking maker when, in 1696, he was condemned to the galleys for life 'pour assemblées, avoir eu communication avec des Prédicants, et trouvé saisi d'un bon pistolet.'⁴ Liberated in 1713 he came to England via Switzerland, meeting his mother and sisters at Geneva, as we learn from the account of his companion Jean Marteilhe,⁵ and being received with much kindness in Zurich.⁶ In February 1714 we find him in London as one of the five *galériens* who sign the 'Liste des Protestants qui restent encore sur les galères de France.'⁷ Later he became a tea dealer in Berwick Street,⁸ and from 1730 onwards he signs the registers of the Berwick Street Church as one of its anciens and as its secretary. He died on May 5, 1758, and is described in his will as of Wardour Street.

Of his three executors, two, Peter Romilly and John Combecrose, were Directors of the school, and other of our Directors received legacies: Gédéon Gosset 15*l.*, and Peter

¹ *La France protestante*, 2me ed. iii. 25.

² vii. 245.

³ *Vide* Agnew, II, 311, and Haag, 2me ed., III, 25 and VI, 237, No. 393.

⁴ Ch. Bost, *Les Prédicants protestants*, 1912, ii. 146, 589.

⁵ *Mem. d'un protestant condamné aux galères de France*, 1865, p. 407.

⁶ E. Jaccard, *L'Église française de Zurich*, 1889, pp. 261-62.

⁷ *Bulletin*, xxxviii. 144, 236.

⁸ For this information, and for a précis of his will (140 Hutton) I am indebted to Mr. Henry Wagner.

Meure a two-handled silver cup ; fellow *galériens* were likewise remembered, and there was a legacy of 500*l.* to the school, as noted by Agnew.

So much for the founders ; let us now turn to the institution itself. This, according to our first definite record (the report for 1760), was situated in Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, a street which ' was strongly recommended by physicians for the salubrity of the air.'¹

We learn from the lease of 1772 that the school occupied two houses and a garden on the south side of the street ' lately in the possession of the Governors of the Middlesex Hospital.' We know that the present hospital was first opened for patients in 1757, and it would seem that its Governors must then have subleased their first home, the ' two convenient houses adjoining each other,' which our Directors continued to hold under this tenancy till 1772, when they took a direct lease from the owner Mr. William Goodge. The landlord's name is familiar to us, as he has bequeathed it to one of the adjacent streets. From the Report of 1779 it appears that the number of the house was 12.

It is evident that the school cannot have occupied these houses before 1757 ; where it may have been during the first years of its existence there is no evidence to show ; possibly in some other house in Windmill Street.

To go back to 1772 ; the rent was 24*l.* and the lease was for fifty-four years. At its expiration the Directors took on the premises for two more years, and in 1829 they moved to another house in the same street, No. 13A. Previous to this (in 1812 when the boys' school was given up) they had sublet one of the two houses.

In 1846 another move was made, the Directors having agreed with the Vestry of the Savoy Church to purchase adjacent sites from the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Woods and Forests, the school paying 650*l.* for its plot. On this the present house was built from designs of Mr. Ambrose Poynter at a cost of 833*l.* It may be worthy of note that

¹ Smith's *Recollections*, p. 28, as quoted by Wheatley and Cunningham.

the architect chosen was himself of Huguenot family. The whole expenditure entailed by this move was some 1655*l.*, to meet which investments had to be sold. The number of children in the school varied from time to time ; in 1759 there were thirty, fifteen boys and fifteen girls, but in the report for that year the Directors tell us that they propose to admit two more as soon as the Bousquet legacy is paid, as there are forty-six on the waiting list. In 1782 the number was again reduced to thirty, but the constant anxiety of the Directors as recorded in the minute-books is how to match the means and the children. This towards the end of the eighteenth century became more and more difficult ; the school still had good support, though the first burst of generosity was past. Even in the report for 1760 we find the pathetic note that ‘ on avertit qu’on ne limite aucune somme pour la souscription de cette école, et que chacun est libre de souscrire ce qu’il juge à propos.’ But prices continued to rise, and in 1797 the Directors sent to the French churches the following typical letter written by their then Secretary, M. le Pasteur Louis Mercier ; its French far surpasses that usually found in their minute-books.

‘ Aux Pasteurs, Anciens et Diacres de l’Eglise Française de ———.

‘ Il y a quelques années, que les Directeurs de l’Ecole Française de Westminster se virent dans la triste nécessité de réduire à 20 le nombre de leurs Enfants ; Depuis ce temps là aient reçu des legs et des dons considérables, ils crurent entrer dans les vues des personnes charitables qui s’intéressent à l’Etablissement, en s’empressant de l’augmenter et dans ce moment ils élèvent 27.

‘ Mais, par l’examin des comptes, il paraît que, dans les trois dernières années, en prenant une avarie, ils ont dépensé par an 100*l.* de plus qu’ils n’ont reçu.

‘ Continuer de cette manière, ce serait précipiter la ruine de l’Institution confiée à leurs soins ; ils pensent donc sérieusement à une nouvelle diminution ; mais avant de prendre une Résolution, qui leur serait si pénible, ils ont cru devoir communiquer leur situation aux consistoires des diverses Eglises Françaises.

‘ Messieurs, ce sont, après tout, les Enfants de vos Pauvres que nous recueillons ; nous contribuons par là à diminuer vos charges ; c’est un Etablissement qui appartient en quelque sorte à vos Eglises,

et d'où sont sortis plusieurs jeunes gens qui, par leur reconnaissance et par leur conduite dans la société, sont l'éloge le plus vrai de l'azile où ils ont été élevés : nous ne doutons donc pas que vous ne vous y intéressiez autant que nous ; peut-être ne croyez vous pas mal employer les fonds dont vous êtes dépositaires en en appliquant chaque année une partie au maintien de notre Ecole : sans doute aussi il se trouve parmi vos Directeurs actuels, et parmi vos membres aisés, des personnes à qui cet établissement est peu ou point connu et auprès desquels votre recommandation ne peut manquer d'être d'un grand poids pour les encourager à y souscrire.

'Tels sont les deux points que nous prenons la Liberté de soumettre à votre considération, renvoyant de prendre aucune détermination relativement au retranchement, jusqu'à ce que nous aions reçu votre réponse, que nous vous prions de faire parvenir à notre secrétaire qui recevra de même avec reconnaissance, les contributions individuelles que les personnes bien disposées voudront lui transmettre.

'Nous avons l'honneur d'être avec respect Messieurs vos humbles et très obéissants serviteurs les Directeurs de l'Ecole de Charité Française de Westminster et pour tous Mercier, Secr^e.'

This appeal brought some fresh support, but difficulties continued, for in 1807 the hazardous resolve was taken 'd'augmenter les enfants au nombre de 12 garçons et de 12 filles dans l'espérance de reveiller le zèle des souscrivants'; even this did not help, and the school with its lessened resources could no longer face the increased cost of living brought about by the war. The last straw may have been that in 1812 the Comité Ecclésiastique de la Bénéfice Royale, which for the past nine years had given a donation of 15*l.*, ceased this payment.

A drastic change was decided on, and in the report for 1813 the remodelling of the school on its present basis is announced in the following words :

'C'est avec le plus grand regret que les Directeurs en conséquence de la diminution des ressources de cet Etablissement et de l'accroissement du prix de tous les articles de première nécessité, se sont vus obligés à faire des réductions dans leurs dépenses futures proportionnées à la réduction de leurs moyens, ensorte que ne

pouvant plus fournir à l'entretien des deux Ecoles, ils ont résolu de continuer seulement celle des filles comme ayant à tous égards les plus grands droits à leur préférence et à leur protection.'

So one house was sublet and compensating sums were paid to the parents of certain boys 'au lieu de toute autre demande sur les Directeurs de l'Ecole.' The Master too received a final gratuity of 30*l.*, his services being no longer required. These changes reduced the annual expenditure by 200*l.*; gradually mounting for the last years it had been about 760*l.*

It was high time for retrenchment; though legacies were frequently received, the Treasurer was more frequently authorised to sell out invested capital wherewith to meet current expenses—a ruinous proceeding in those war days, for in 1782 the 3 per cent. Consolidated Annuities were at 58 $\frac{3}{4}$, and in 1800 the 3 per cent. Reduced were at 63 $\frac{1}{8}$.

From 1795 onwards was a very hard time. Leather had gone up, and in 1799 shoes were at 4*s.* a pair, whereas in 1783 boys' shoes were 2*s.* 10*d.* and girls' 2*s.* 7*d.* In 1796 the Directors had to pay 5*s.* a head for their Anniversary Dinner 'vin non compris,' about 3*s.* having been the usual price. In the same year we read that 'par rapport à la disette actuelle du bled les membres présentes ont fait apporter un pain d'une qualité inférieure qu'ils ont approuvé et dont le prix n'est qu'onze sols.' There were also difficulties over the school beer, an important item in those days, when the *brasseur's* bill was always heavier than the *laitier's*. It was all but decided too that the girls should be dressed in grey, it being so difficult to procure the usual blue serge. This would have been a more serious change than at first sight appears, for the institution was well known amongst the Huguenots as 'the Blue Coat School,'¹ a familiar name also borne by the Huguenot boys' school of Portarlington.²

Taxation increased likewise, but it is pleasant to learn from

¹ Vide *Letters of Administration* of July 20, 1782, issued to Leonard and James Louis Turquand in respect of the estate of Jean Justamond the elder deceased, in connection with a legacy left to the school in these words by Mary Gomme. (Now among the school records.)

² Smiles, *The Huguenots in England and Ireland*, 1880, p. 315.

a note of 1785 that 'l'École devait être exempté de la Taxe sur les fenestres excepté les fenestres du Maître, des Maîtresses et Servantes.'

In early days the staff consisted of a master, mistress, governess, messenger, and two servants, their combined salaries amounting to 69*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.* for the year 1759.

The school has had no great number of masters and mistresses, their average stay being nearly twenty years. Among them may be mentioned the following:

In 1760 Nicolas Massy and his wife were in command, with Mlle. Savounet as *sous-maîtresse*, the latter probably related to Madame Massy, whose maiden name was Anne Savonnet (*vide* the record of her marriage to Nicholas Massy, in 1738, in the Registers of the Churches of les Grecs and the Savoy). Nicolas Massy was also 'Lecteur de l'Eglise de la Savoye dite les Grecs.'¹

In 1783 all three retired because of their age and infirmities, and Jacques Clément and Susanne Panchaud were appointed. He died in 1790, and she resigned in the following year. Monsieur J. A. Voullaire succeeded them, and was master till the boys' school was given up in 1812. From that date to the present time there have been six mistresses, Madame Flammare, Mrs. Stokes (1824), Mrs. Cocking (1841), Mrs. Sarah Anne Burton (*circa* 1847), Miss Eliza Rawlinson (1874), and Mrs. Flecknoe (1894). The names of two of the above, Monsieur Clément and Madame Flammare, will be found in the list of benefactors.

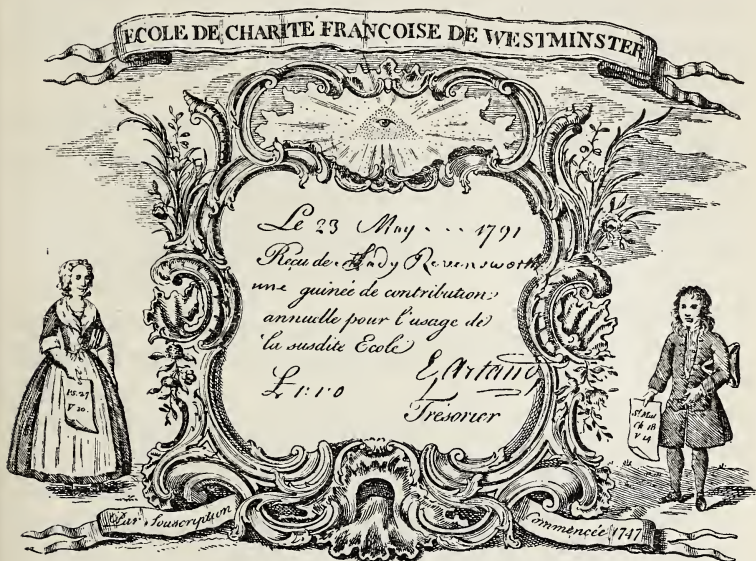
There are not many details about the boys, of whom, according to the old Register, a total number of 261 were brought up in the school. They wore 'culottes de peau' and 'habits ou redingottes,' and of this dress the old form of receipt, of which a copy happily survives, gives us a picture. No doubt the design was changed to the present one (with its twin maiden supporters) when the boys' school was given up.

On the whole the boys seem to have given more trouble than the girls; in 1767 the Riot Act had to be read to them, though their particular unruliness is not specified. In 1783

¹ *Register of les Grecs and the Savoy, s.v. Elvius, date 1773.*

they had the effrontery to throw a stone and break a window in the opposite house even whilst the Directors were meeting; a severe chastisement followed. In 1793 trouble arose because four boys buried letters in the fields instead of delivering them as their orders were. Unfortunately the minutes give us no details respecting this novel crime. More boys than one cares to read of ran away or were expelled, though here our sympathy

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OLD FORM OF RECEIPT

goes out to Isaac Lefevre,¹ who in 1795 's'est présenté pour faire savoir aux Directeurs qu'il voudrait quitter l'Ecole pour aller sur mer'; backed up by Isaac's father the committee was hard-hearted in the matter. Finally the boy did run away; we know nothing more of his history, but may trust that he got to sea and flourished.

Girls too could misbehave themselves. In 1868 their conduct is reported by the mistress to be very bad, and the

¹ No. 248 in Mr. Beaufort's list. For this and subsequent references to Mr. Beaufort's lists of children see his article (*Proceedings*, iv. 355) on the 'Records of the French Protestant School.'

Directors decide that they deserve and shall have no Easter holidays. On learning this the girls make a general uproar which lasts till past ten at night. At this date too they are reported to be in the habit of getting out on to the roof of the church next door.

The children's education was as follows : ' On les enseigne à lire et à écrire en Français et en Anglais ; à chiffrer ; & à chanter les Psaumes, & on leur donne les principes de la Religion Chrétienne. De plus on enseigne aux Filles à coudre, à marquer & à tricoter on leur fait faire leur linge et celui des garçons ; et on les occupe tour-à-tour au service qui est requis dans la Maison.'

The Directors certainly took great pains, constantly examining the children and distributing small prizes. The Huguenot spirit was kept up, the children were taken to the Church of la Patente to hear the annual sermon of ' la Cassation de l'Edit de Nantes ' ; and they had a holiday on St. Bartholomew's Day.

In 1785 the Directors order ' que les enfants ne changeront plus leurs surnoms françois en anglois, mais qu'ils l'écriront toujours comme il est épelé en François.' This rule had not been followed, for a boy who entered the school as Bateleur in 1757 left it as Butler five years later.¹

Loyalty to their adopted country was also fostered, as is shown in the agreement to be signed by the parents of every child who was admitted. In this the former are admonished during the holidays ' frequently to inculcate on the minds of their children the principles of loyalty and obedience and all good affection to our most Gracious Sovereign King George and his Government.'

The Directors have their reward. Mothers brought up in the school bring their daughters and they in turn theirs. In 1804 Mr. Samuel Newton Rivière was made Director ; there is no absolute proof, but one likes to think that he was the boy who, born in 1753,² was brought up in the school and withdrawn by his parents in 1767. On March 3, 1870, Mrs. Johnson (née

¹ Appendix IV.

² No. 342 in Mr. Beaufort's list and Registers of the Church of the Carré and Berwick Street.

Marie Barrier)¹ introduces herself to the committee as a former pupil, stating that she left the school fifty-two years ago that day and that it afforded her the greatest pleasure to be able to make a donation of fifty pounds to the school as a proof of her gratitude for the education she had received there.

One of the most important functions of the Directors was the apprenticing of the children when they left the school at the age of fourteen. This was done with the greatest care. Usually the prospective master or mistress was interviewed in the presence of the child and its parents; often the minutes of meeting after meeting are filled with the arrangements and wranglings over the placing of one child. A fair number of the boys were placed through the assistance of the French Hospital,² and on a few occasions the Saintonge Society helped. Five pounds was the usual premium and five years the usual duration of the apprenticeship, but sometimes 7*l.* is paid, the child being then bound for seven years. When all arrangements were completed the child was solemnly given 'une Bible française et un Whole Duty of Man et un chelin pour l'encourager à faire son devoir.'

The more usual trades to which the boys were placed were those of tailor, cobbler, weaver—amongst whom we find 'gafonnid en laine'³—jeweller, apothecary, *perruquier*, and watch-maker. We also find musical instrument maker, *relieur en velin*, *imprimeur en tailles-douces*, *ébéniste*, *sculpteur*, *doreur*, *ciseleur*, *modeleur*, enameller, mathematical instrument maker, etc., mostly, as may be noted, skilled trades.

Of the girls some were placed in domestic service, usually in the nursery. In 1791 Dr. Skiet, LL.D., of East Ham House, near Bath, waits a year for Elizabeth Marie Charlet,⁴ the next girl due to leave, whom he engages to look after his children. Many of them were placed with the mistresses of young ladies'

¹ No. 466 in Mr. Beaufort's list.

² Full details about these are given in the Hospital Records.

³ The name *gafonnid* must describe the man who carried out some particular process in weaving, and it seems natural to connect it with the word *gaff*. The nearest approach I can find to the word is *gaffon*, the name used in southern France for a barrel-maker's tool.

⁴ Probably No. 535 in Mr. Beaufort's list.

boarding-schools; some were apprenticed to watch-chain makers, others to *ourdisseuses en soie*.¹ Lace makers and menders, clear starchers, dressmakers were very usual mistresses.

In 1816 Elizabeth Vardon² was placed as far afield as Bruges, with a Captain James, 'une situation qui promet d'être très avantageuse.' In 1790 we read that 'a gentleman quaker ayant demandé une de nos petites filles on a objecté qu'il demeure trop loin à la campagne pour ne la permettre chez une personne d'une Religion si auposé à la Notre,' so his request was refused.

The children's health was well looked after; there was a sick room in the school, and if at home ill an allowance was usually made to their parents. When taken seriously ill they were sent to the Middlesex Hospital. Before entering the school the children were passed by the apothecary. In 1763 this post was filled by Monsieur Jean Abdias³ Justamond, surgeon, who had offered to attend the school free of charge. He was the son of one of the first Directors, and himself became a Director later. In 1841 Mr. Phillips was honorary dentist. The first mention of vaccination occurs in 1817, when the apothecary reports that of the children awaiting admission, two have had smallpox, and one has been vaccinated.

The only epidemic was in 1808, when drastic methods were taken by the Directors, who called in Mr. Astley Cooper to advise as to disinfecting the home and 'après avoir bien débattu le pour et le contre il a été résolu de faire bouillir les hardes et les couvertures de lit par un scowerer.'

The minute-books are full of arrangements for the Anniversary Sermon, a solemn function for which 'tous les ans on habille les enfants de neuf.' In early days the service usually took place on a Thursday in May and was held at 11 o'clock in the morning; at 'l'Eglise française appelée des Grecs.' After the move of 1846 there was an afternoon service as well as the morning one, both being held in the Savoy Church next door.

¹ Warner. Compare the proverb 'A toile ourdie Dieu mande le fil.'

² No. 954 in Mr. Beaufort's list.

³ He more often used the English form of the name, Obadiah.

The minister who should preach had to be chosen, officially approached, and afterwards solemnly thanked. Till 1791 an advertisement of the Sermon was put in the papers, but in that year the Directors resolved 'de ne plus avertir dans les papiers publiques le Sermon anniversaire allavenir, mais seulement dans les églises françaises.' Large numbers of invitations were sent out in addition.

The psalms to be sung by the children had to be selected, and it was settled who should hold the boxes; these in 1759 produced as much as 130*l.*, and in 1824 a sermon by M. le Pasteur Scholl brought in 26*l.*, 'un produit comparativement considérable,' and as late as 1881 a sermon of Dean Stanley's brought the school 20*l.* The last Anniversary Sermon was preached in the year 1884, after which date the custom lapsed.

The Directors' Anniversary Dinner held on the same day as the Sermon appears to have been given up at an earlier date, for I can find no mention of it later than 1809. Two or three 'purveyors' were appointed to arrange for it, and in the year 1788 thirty-three persons were present. Various taverns and coffee-houses were patronised; in early days the Turk's Head in Gerrard Street was the favourite, later 'le Vieux Slaughter House' in St. Martin's Lane, familiar to all readers of *Vanity Fair*. Three o'clock was the usual hour and from three to five shillings per head, 'vin non compris,' the cost; this the Directors paid out of their own pockets; 'le restant du repas' even produced a few shillings 'pour la Boëtte,' so the school was the gainer.

The Sermon and the dinner have passed away, perhaps the times have changed, but there remains the Huguenot interest in Huguenot foundations. This it has been one of the purposes of these notes to rekindle, lest one of the best of them perish. I conclude with a verse sung by our children at many of these anniversaries:

'De nos aïeux un brûlant zèle
Anima le cœur et la main;
Conserve encore quelqu'étincelle
De ce brillant feu qui s'éteint.'

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

PROJET, ETC.

Tout le monde convient qu'une bonne éducation est très avantageuse à la Société, et qu'elle est nécessaire aux enfants de quelque condition qu'ils soient ; les riches qui en sentent si bien le prix, et qui se donnent tant de soins et tant d'inquiétudes pour la procurer à leurs enfants, ne doivent-ils pas, lors qu'ils viennent à réfléchir, plaindre le sort des indigens, que la Providence a mis dans l'impuissance d'en donner une telle aux leurs.

Nous voyons que, pour subvenir au manque de moiens de ces derniers, quantité de personnes parmi cette nation si estimable par sa charité, s'unissent pour établir des écoles publiques par voie de souscription, où les enfants des moins opulents reçoivent une aussi bonne éducation que s'ils fussent nés de parents riches et accrédités ; qu'est-ce qui empêcheroit que l'on ne format un pareil Etablissement parmi les François de Westminster ? Plût à Dieu que vos prédécesseurs y eussent pensé de bonne heure ; s'ils l'eussent fait, il y a tout lieu de croire que beaucoup d'enfants de pauvres du Refuge tant orphelins qu'autres que l'on a été obligé de mettre dans les maisons de paroisse, et qui se sont par là détachés de nous, seroient à présent comptés parmi les meilleurs membres de nos Eglises ; pendant que par là aussi nos Consistoires auroient été beaucoup moins chargés qu'ils ne le sont de pauvres, parmi lesquels il s'en trouve un grand nombre, qui faute d'un tel Etablissement se sont vues réduits à la triste nécessité de demander de l'assistance tant pour subvenir à leurs propres besoins que pour élever leurs familles.

Une nouvelle considération qui doit faire sentir la nécessité qu'il y a d'établir une Ecole publique pour l'éducation des enfants des pauvres François Réfugiez de cette ville, c'est le peu de soin que ces derniers en général prennent de leur instruction. En effet, combien ne s'en trouve t'il point qui pouvant enseigner ou faire apprendre à leurs enfants à lire et à écrire, négligent de le faire.

Combien encore qui perdent de vue un devoir qui est beaucoup plus essentiel encore, et qui consiste à les élever dans la crainte de Dieu, et à les mettre en état de rendre raison de leur foi ; d'où il arrive trop souvent ou que ces enfants ignorent la religion qu'ils professent ou qu'ils la dishonnorent par une vie déréglée.

C'est dans la vue d'obvier à ces inconvenients que l'on se propose, avec l'aide du Seigneur, de lever une somme par souscription pour entretenir et pour élever Chrétiennement autant d'enfants que le produit des contributions pourra le permettre. Pour cet effet. (1) On leur fera apprendre à lire et à écrire. (2) On les fera instruire dans les principes de notre Sainte Religion Reformée. (3) On les habillera tous uniformement, et au cas que la Providence bénisse cette entreprise, et que nos fonds le permettent, on les fera habiter tous dans un même lieu où on leur donnera avec la nourriture un maître qui aura l'œil sur leur conduite.

Au reste comme on ne peut pas se flatter qu'une entreprise de cette nature puisse être d'abord amenée à maturité ; comme d'ailleurs ceux qui l'ont conçue sont fort éloignés de croire qu'ils n'ont pas besoin de nouvelles lumières pour l'avancer et pour la perfectionner ; ils invitent tous ceux à qui ce projet pourra parvenir, à leur en indiquer les défauts ou à leur en proposer un meilleur, espérant qu'ils voudront bien leur communiquer leurs idées là dessus soit de bouche, soit par écrit, en s'adressant aux Messieurs nommés ci-dessous.

Après avoir prié Dieu de répandre sa Bénédiction sur ce dessein qui a pour l'objet l'avancement de sa gloire, il ne nous reste qu'à avertir le public.

1. Que chaque souscrivant ne pourra pas souscrire moins de dix chelins par an.

2. Que l'on donnera l'argent en souscrivant, et que l'on déclarera en même temps si l'on est dans l'intention de continuer la même somme annuellement.

3. Que tous les six mois on balancera les comptes et qu'ils seront remis entre les mains d'une personne que les Directeurs nommeront, afin que les souscrivants puissent eux-mêmes les examiner, et voir comment les choses s'administrent.

Ceux qui voudront souscrire, pourront s'adresser pour cet effet à Mess. Hubert Père et fils dans le Strand vis-à-vis Durham Yard ; à Mess. Elin et Paillet dans Thrift Street, à Mr. Morelon dans Compton Street, à Mr. Roberts dans Church Street, Soho ; à Mon. Mongeon dans Porter Street et à Mr. Foullé dans Union Court, Broad Street vis-à-vis the Pay Office dans la Cité.

APPENDIX II

RECORDS

THE earliest record preserved is a volume containing yearly lists of subscribers, begun probably in 1747, but as the first pages are missing this beautifully kept book gives us no information before the year 1752.

The first surviving minute-book begins in 1760, and from this date eight volumes continue the series till 1809; then there is a gap, the next beginning in 1816: this, the last kept in French, finishes in 1845. The next, in English, begins in 1868, from which date onwards the series is complete.

Various old account books exist, nothing however earlier than 1780. There is also a fair number of annual reports, the earliest being for 1760.

The oldest school deed surviving is the lease of 1772 already noted. There are also various assignments to new trustees, and, of course, all the documents connected with the purchase of the present site. The original draft of the *Règlements*, of which copies still exist, is entered at the beginning of the minute-book 1816 to 1845 in French and English by the then Secretary, M. le Pasteur L. M. Anspach. In 1816 the school must finally have been reorganised after the giving up of the boys, at which date this *nouveau Règlement* was approved. The old Register, of which Mr. Beaufort made use, only begins in 1792, though its first title would lead one to believe that it was started at the foundation of the school.

The paucity of early records is perhaps due to the fact that in 1790 the Directors appointed a day 'pour arranger l'armoir et la débarrasser des vieux papiers,' though this does not account for the loss of the minute-books, which would have given us details about the reorganisation of 1812 as well as of the change of premises of 1845.

APPENDIX III

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS

SOME explanations are necessary to the lists appended. There were, of course, various sources of information (*vide* Appendix II), and from them it has been possible to trace the complete succession

of officers from 1752, the first date for which any record remains, but with the Directors the task was more difficult, for here the minute-books leave much to be desired. Often a new Director just appears at the meetings, his election never having been noted; and at an 'Assemblée générale' many attend who are not Directors at all.

The asterisks placed before the Directors' names in the Reports are likewise misleading, for these often refer to 'Directeurs viagers,' with whom I do not concern myself, limiting my list to those who attended the meetings and really managed the school affairs.

Christian names are sometimes wanting, and when I can but suggest them they are put in brackets.

Many of our Directors were likewise Directors of the French Hospital, and further information about some of these will be found in the *Proceedings*.¹

Details about others are given in Mr. Henry Wagner's paper on the Boislin Trust already referred to,² and for the Ministers reference may be made to Mr. W. H. Manchée's Huguenot Clergy Lists.³

Our Directors were many of them elders of the various London churches; and a large proportion, as might be expected, were members of the Churches of les Grecs and the Savoy.

Presidents.

1752-1770 de Saunières, Henry.
 1770-1781 de Bussièrès, Jean.
 1782-1794 Duroure, François.
 1794-1808 Briand, René.
 1808-1812 Guillemard, Jean.
 1815⁴-1836 Duval, David.
 1836-1869 Radnor, Guillaume Pleydell Bouverie, 3rd Earl of.
 1869-1889 Radnor, Jacob Pleydell Bouverie, 4th Earl of.
 1889-1900 Radnor, William Pleydell Bouverie, 5th Earl of.

1901-1920 Radnor, Jacob Pleydell Bouverie, 6th Earl of.

Vice-Presidents.

1815 Plank, Peter.⁵
 1841 Folkestone, Jacob Pleydell Bouverie, Viscount (President as 4th Earl of Radnor in 1869).
 1841 Bosanquet, Sir John Bernard.
 1847 Levesque, Pierre.
 1858 Boileau, Sir John Peter, Bart.
 1858 Mudry, Jean (Marie) (Min. of the Savoy).
 1864 Broderip, Francis.
 1868 Duval, Philip Smith.
 1868 Ouvry, Frederick.

¹ Vol. vii., p. 207, Appendix I to 'The Early History of the French Protestant Hospital,' by A. Giraud Browning. Vol. x., 'The Directors of the French Hospital of La Providence,' by Henry Wagner.

² *Proceedings*, viii. 385.

³ *Proceedings*, xi.

⁴ I cannot ascertain the exact date of David Duval's succeeding Jean Guillemard.

⁵ The first Vice-President elected.

Vice-Presidents—continued.

- 1869 Folkestone, William Pleydell
Bouverie, Viscount (President
as 5th Earl of Radnor in
1889).
1878 Kitching, Walton (Min. of the
Savoy).
1881 Vincent, Jacob.
1881 Giraud, Richard Hervé.
1886 Peek, Sir Henry William, Bart.
1891 Robarts, Henry Pratt.
1898 Browning, Arthur Giraud.
1907 Roumieu, Reginald St. Aubyn.
1909 Portal, Sir William Wyndham,
Bart.
1909 Barwell, The Rev. Prebendary
Arthur H. Sanxay, Canon of
Chichester.

Secretaries.

- 1752-1753 Elin, Paul.
1753-1773 Palairot, Jean.
1773-1784 Muysson, Philippe.¹
1784-1796 Artaud, Etienne.²
1796-1811 Mercier, Louis³ (Min. of
Threadneedle St.)
1812-1822 Anspach, Louis Amadée³
(Min. of Threadneedle
St.).
1822-1836 Scholl, Charles Louis
Henry (Min. of Thread-
needle St.).
1836-1838 Louis, Jean Auguste⁴ (Min.
of Threadneedle St.).
1838-1851 Mudry, Jean (Marie)⁴ (Min.
of the Savoy).
1852-1863 Giraud, Richard Hervé.
1864-1871 Kitching, Walton (Min.
of the Savoy).
1871-1884 Bouverie, Frederick W. B.
(Min. of the Savoy).
1884-1904 Beaufort, W. Morris.
1904- Ouvry, Ernest Carrington.

Treasurers.

- 1752-1773 Foullé, Pierre.
1773-1774 Robert, Isaac.
1774-1782 Meure, Pierre⁵
1783-1798 Artaud, Etienne.
1798-1829 Grignion, Claudius.
1829-1829 Cordes, Charles Augustus.
1829-1841 Edwards, Richard (Min.).
1841-1842 Wyndham, Edward.
1842-1852 Vincent, Jean Robert.
1852-1881 Vincent, Jacob.
1881-1900 Roumieu, Reginald St.
Aubyn.
1900-1912 Le Bailly, Louis Hooper.
1912- Minet, Susan.

Directors.

- 1752 de Saunières, Henry.
Foullé, Pierre.
Elin, Paul.
Hubert, David.
Hubert, Etienne.
Fleurieau, François.
Morelon, André.
Palairot, Jean.
Mongeon, Jean.
Paillet, Daniel.
Robert, Isaac.
Justamond, Jean (the
elder).
Bousquet, André.
Combrune, Michel.
1755 Amiot, Etienne.
Durand, le Major.
1755-1760 Prevost (Guillaume).
Martineau, Louis.
Gougou (Etienne).
Gosset, Isaac.
Gosset, Gédéon.
de Saily (Charles).
Combecrose, Jean.
de Blagny, Jean Robert
de Bechevel de la Motte.

¹ He retires to Holland in this year.

² He seems to have taken on the duties of Secretary as well as those of Treasurer at this date, though it is only in 1793 that I get a definite statement as to his filling both offices.

³ I have no actual record of the change, but suppose it was in 1812, when M. Anspach succeeded M. Mercier as Minister of Threadneedle St. The latter was still Secretary in 1810, and M. Anspach signs as such in 1813.

⁴ I have no actual record of the change, but find M. Louis Secretary in 1837 and M. Mudry in 1839; the former seems to have given up the Threadneedle Street Ministry in 1837, so he probably gave up the Secretaryship about the same time.

⁵ See vol. x. of the *Proceedings*, p. 124, for Mr. Henry Wagner's Notes about him.

Directors—continued.

- 1763 Hanet, Jean.
 Tabart, Daniel.
 Romilly, Pierre.
 Gardes, Etienne.
 Ravanel, Edward.
 Chassereau, François.
 Fenouillet (Jean Henri).
 1764 de la Creuze.
 1770 de Buissières, Jean.
 Turquand, Paul.
 Dubuysson, Jnr.
 Justamond, Jean Obadiah
 (or Abdias).
 Lucas, Pierre.
 1771 Meure, Pierre.
 Grignon, Reynald.
 Dalvy, J. J.
 Muysson, Philippe.
 Fontaine,
 Bacot, Guillaume.
 1776 Beuzeville, Pierre.
 Turquand, Léonard.
 Turquand, Jacques Louis.
 Merzeau, Pierre.
 Périgal, Jean.
 Jacob, Jean.
 1780 Le Jeune, John James.
 Payan, Daniel.
 Artaud, Etienne.
 1782 Duroure, François.
 Mounier, Pierre.
 Maigre, Cyrus.
 Joumard, Samuel.
 1783 Descombelle.
 Gilles, Louis.
 1784 Guillebaud, Pierre.
 1785 Briand, René.
 1787 Jacob, Augustin.
 1789 Grignon, Claudius.
 Grignon, Israel.
 Michel, Jacques.
 1791 Planck, Pierre.
 1792 Ardesoif, Stephen.
 Saint, Gédéon.
 1794 Vincent, Pierre.
 Jacmar, D. J.
 Hervé, François.
 1795 Mouchet, Abraham Jean.
 Durand, Jean Charles.
 Dollond (Pierre).
 Duval, David.
 Mercier, Louis (Min.).
 Lejeune, Jean.
 Bacot, J. S.
 1797 Benézéck, Pierre.
 Combrune, Gédéon.
 1799 Griffin, Jean.
 de Guiffaudière, Charles (Min.).

Directors—continued.

- 1800 Belloncle, Jacques.
 Matthews, Edouard.
 1801 Dupuis, Pierre.
 1803 Guillemard, Jean.
 1804 Rivière, Samuel Newton.
 Michel, F. P.
 Chamier, Jean.
 1807 Périgal, François.
 1808 Abauzit, Théophile (Min.).
 de Barry, Richard.
 Gauguain, Jean Pierre.
 1811 Thatcher, Robert.
 Vincent, Jean Baptiste.
 1813 Levesque, Pierre.
 Anspach, Louis Amadée
 (Min.).
 1814 Booth, William Henry.
 Moor, Daniel.
 1816 Jeanneret.
 1817 Simpson, Jean Vatas.
 Sevestre (Guillaume
 Denison).
 Marchant (Pierre).
 1819 Edwards, Richard (Min.).
 1822 Scholl, Charles Louis
 Henry (Min.).
 1823 Desgranges, Peter.
 Cordes, Charles Augustus.
 1824 Charouneau, J. W.
 1824 Pons, James Samuel (Min.).
 1830 Sterky, Alexandre (Min.).
 1832 Wyndham, Edward.
 1833 Vincent, Jacob.
 Audinet, Philippe.
 1836 Louis, Jean Auguste
 (Min.).
 Radnor, Guillaume Pleydell
 Bouverie, 3rd Earl of.
 1837 Mudry, Jean (Marie) (Min.).
 1838 Baup, (Paul Louis)
 Charles (Min.).
 1839 Vincent, Jean Robert.
 Masters, Henry William.
 1841 Barez, Henri (Min.).
 Taylor, John.
 Delolme, H.
 Robarts, Henry Pratt.
 Folkestone, Jacob Pleydell
 Bouverie, Viscount
 (President as 4th Earl
 of Radnor in 1869).
 1842 Bosanquet, Sir John
 Bernard.
 1844 Sterky, Charles.
 1845 Giraud, Richard Hervé.
 Daugard, W. (D.) (Min.).
 Vincent, James.
 Grignon, Peter.

Directors—continued.

- 1852 Millner, William (Min.).
- 1855 Winsor, Frederick Albert.
- 1856 Aldebert, Isaac.
Kitching, Walton (Min.).
- 1857 Roumieu, Robert Lewis.
- 1858 Boileau, Sir John Peter,
Bart.
- 1863 Broderip, Francis.
- 1863 Bredow, Ernest.
Fâche, Charles James.
Ouvry, Frederick.
Duval, Philip Smith.
Folkestone, William Pley-
dell Bouverie, Viscount
(President as 5th Earl
of Radnor in 1889).
- 1870 Bouverie, Frederick W. B.
(Min.).
- 1871 Le Cappelain, John.
- 1874 Browning, Arthur Giraud.
- 1875 Shoppee, Charles John.
- 1880 Lee, Henry.
Beaufort, William Morris.
- 1881 Roumieu, Reginald St.
Aubyn.

Directors—continued.

- 1883 Grellier, William.
Duthoit, Jonathan.
- 1886 Peek, Sir Henry, Bart.
Norris, Charles.
- 1889 Shoppee, Gerald Augus-
tine.
- 1891 Layard, Frederick Peter,
Lieut.-General.
Roumieu, Raymond Louis.
- 1894 Ouvry, Ernest Carrington.
- 1897 Fâche, Edward Charles.
- 1898 Le Bailly, Louis Hooper.
- 1901 Radnor, Jacob Pleydell
Bouverie, 6th Earl of.
- 1905 Vincent, J. L., I.S.O.
- 1908 Browning, Arthur Hervé.
- 1909 Barwell, The Rev. Preb.
Arthur H. Sanxay.
Portal, Sir William
Wyndham, Bart.
Duval, Stephen Smith.
- 1911 Minet, Susan.
- 1912 Ellis-Danvers, G. R.
- 1917 Ford, Ronald Mylne.
- 1919 Parker, Owen Fortrie.

APPENDIX IV

CHILDREN

THE following tables form a supplement to those published by Mr. Beaufort in 1893.¹ I have not attempted to carry my list of girls beyond the year 1889, the termination of the Old Register, and the date at which Mr. Beaufort stopped.

My sources of information are various; the most important, a document entitled 'Extraits Batistaires des Enfants qu'on a pris, mais qui n'y ont point été élevés, soit qu'on les aient retirés ou mort etc. fait en 1776,' was found recently by Mr. Ouvry, the Secretary of the school, amongst the papers of the Savoy Church. This list was, of course, unknown to Mr. Beaufort.

I have also used the Table of Apprenticeship hanging in the Committee Room of the school, which is entitled 'garçons de cette Ecole mis en apprentissage' and gives the names of fifty-six boys ranging between the years 1750 and 1768. It seems strange that this table has never been made public, while those of the schools' Benefactors have twice been published in the *Proceedings*.²

The minute-books were of great value for checking the other

¹ *Proceedings*, iv. 355.

² Vols. ii. and iv.

lists and give us also a few fresh names. The Old Register has likewise provided some fresh information. Mr. Beaufort's first two lists reproduce only the indices of this volume, nor is their accuracy above suspicion, for by going to the Register itself I have noted various errors and omissions.

To go back to the 'Extraits Batistaires,' this neatly written list gives the names of 233 children, both boys and girls, with their dates of birth and further notes explaining why they were not brought up in the school. The following may be taken as typical examples: 'Admise mais congédiée, son père ne voulant pas qu'elle portât l'habit'; 'Raïée ayant passé l'âge'; 'Enfui aussitôt qu'admis,' etc. The title of the document as quoted on page 112 is not strictly correct, as some of the children whose names are contained in it do seem to have finished their education in the school. The earliest date of birth found is 1741, the latest 1774. Though said to have been made in 1776, the list must have been finished somewhat later, for there are entries of children leaving the school as late as 1783.

But this list does not exhaust Mr. Ouvry's find, for it was contained in an envelope which, upon close examination, showed traces of handwriting seemingly identical with that of the document itself. By judicious steaming it was possible to remove from the envelope the pieces of paper with which it had been stiffened; these were found to contain a further series of lists, all relating to children educated in the school. One was headed 'Filles nées 1750-1754' and contained about ninety names, all crossed out, for some reason which it is now difficult to explain. Other of these sheets gave the names of boys and girls admitted from 1747 to 1751, some forty names in all. These various lists here and there repeat themselves, but where they do they supply different information about the children and so supplement each other.

Together with the Table of Apprenticeship they cover about the same years as the published certificates, but give some fresh names, and it is only these I print, adding also such corrections as I have been able to make to Mr. Beaufort's work. My lists do not always give the year of birth, but from the date of admission or apprenticeship a fairly accurate guess at the child's age can be made, for they usually spent about four years in the school from the age of ten to that of fourteen. In my lists I have put an asterisk against the names of the children concerning whom I have a

definite statement that they were not brought up in the school. Both Mr. Beaufort's first and second lists give, of course, the names and certificates of all registered candidates without differentiating between those who were admitted and those who were not.

Abbreviations.

ad., admitted.
app., apprenticed.
b., born.

bap., baptised.
reg., registered.
d., daughter.

Boys.

Adam, Campbell Abraham reg. 1785
Ageron, Jean Guillaume b. Oct. 17, 1768
André, Guillaume app. 1758
André, Pierre app. 1754
*Barel, Guillaume bap. July 1, 1772
Bateleur (or Butler), Asse-
lin Thomas ¹ b. March 11, 1748
Berthellot, Elie app. 1757
Berthelot, Étienne app. 1760
Blamey, Jean b. March 15, 1749/50
Cavre, Pierre Isaac app. 1762
Charpentier, Antoine app. 1752
Chasserau, Jacques ad. 1785
Chazaux, Jean app. 1752
Cole, Zacarie b. 1747/8 ²
Crespin, Louis app. 1759
Lefort, Louis Antoine leaves 1765
Yvon
Delabertauche, Henri P. b. Sept. 22, 1766
Delbar, Jean Charles (son of Jean Charles) b. 1778
Delépine, Jean app. 1754
*Delleins, Henry b. Aug. 18, 1771
Desrenen, Jacques app. 1768
Dufrene, Jacques app. 1768
*Duneau, Jacques b. Oct. 10, 1774
Dupré. *See* Yeates
Dupuis, Pierre app. 1755
Dupuy, Jean Louis ad. 1804
Durand, Etienne b. Nov. 18, 1749
Durand, Vincent b. July 23, 1747
Dutereau, Jacques ³
Duvand, Etienne app. 1763

Farcé, Jacob ⁴ b. May 27, 1797
Favre, Jacques Daniel b. July 16, 1752
Favre, Louis app. 1754
Favre, Pierre Isaac b. May 19, 1748
Foray, Charles b. Aug. 3, 1775
*Gaillard, Pierre ⁵ b. Jan. 16,
Gastineau, Paul Aubin b. Oct. 30, 1758
Godin, Jacques app. 1752
Hébert, Jacques leaves 1801
Le Blanc, Charles app. 1769
*Lecointe, Louis b. Feb. 28 1750/1
Legros, Matthieu b. Jan. 5, 1760
*Magny, Thomas b. Aug. 21, 1764
*Marquene, François
Joseph b. Oct. 8, 1771
*Merigeot, Jean Beale b. Dec. 28, 1769
Merigeot, Richard app. 1785
Monet, Antoine b. 1782 ⁶
Moutier, George b. Feb. 24, 1783
Nadal, Jean app. 1753
Pancheau, Peter in school, 1794
Parquot, Jean app. 1750
Parquot, Pierre app. 1757
Petit, Charles app. 1751
Pintar, Guillaume b. Dec. 29, 1749
Ponge, Samuel François app. 1766
Ponge, Thomas app. 1769
Richmond, Thomas bap. Feb. 19, 1769 ⁷
Robinson, Henry app. 1757
*Thomas, Guillaume André b. April 15, 1764
*Tournier, Guillaume bap. April 29, 1764
Trinquant, Isaac app. 1757
*Triquet, George b. Oct. 25, 1759

¹ For his baptism see the *Registers of the Berwick Street Church*.

² Erroneously given as 1847 in Mr. Beaufort's list, No. 91.

³ Erroneously given as Du Ferreau in Mr. Beaufort's list, No. 148.

⁴ Erroneously given as Favié in Mr. Beaufort's 1st list, p. 359.

⁵ Year of birth omitted, but it is noted that his baptismal certificate was returned in 1781.

⁶ Erroneously given as 1792 in Mr. Beaufort's list, No. 286.

⁷ Erroneously given as 1763 in Mr. Beaufort's list, No. 339.

Boys—continued.

Turmeau, George app. 1776
Walker, Thomas app. 1783
*Yeates,¹ Jean George
(dit Dupré au dehors).

Girls.

André, Anne b. Jan. 16, 1754
André, Esther b. Nov. 1, 1751
André, Marie Anne
bap. Feb. 13, 1759/60
Bertrand, Elizabeth b. 1752²
Béville, Ann Joseph (d.
of Aimé) reg. 1787
Bonneau, Elizabeth Marie
b. Dec. 6, 1747
Bottom,³ Charlotte
Boutran - Durford, Esther
Françoise b. Dec. 29, 1750
Bucquet, Eliza Harriet
b. June 25, 1810⁴
Bucquet, Henriette b. Feb. 9, 1817⁵
Byard, Catherine b. July 2, 1777
Cane,⁶ Sarah Elizabeth
Caste, Dorothy app. 1766
Chabot, Anne Rennée
b. Dec. 17, 1759⁷
Charpentier, Lydie b. Aug. 2, 1771
Cholet, Elizabeth Marie
(d. of Marie) ad. 1787
Crouzet, Elizabeth b. Dec. 19, 1756
Dagassan,⁸ Susanne b. in France,
1756, died Nov.
24, 1765
Dede, Susanne b. Nov. 14, 1767
Delabertauche, Anne
Catherine b. Mar. 26, 1756
Delabertauche, Marguerite
b. Aug. 10, 1753
De la Croisette, Emily Plume⁹

Girls—continued.

Delamare, Elizabeth ad. 1762
*Delavaux, Anne b. Aug. 25, 1747
Deledernier, Elizabeth
(d. of Jean) ad. 1783
Durford, Françoise Esther.
See Boutron-Durford
Favre, Jeanne b. Feb. 6, 1749/50
*Fontenaux, Jeanne Eliza-
beth b. March 3, 1772
Guion, Louise b. June 11, 1757
Hervé, Ruth b. April 30, 1804
*Hughes, Adelaide Jane b. May 20, 1842
Journeaux (Joineau),
Marianne (d. of Madame
Rommier) b. 1751¹⁰
Labertoche, Esther app. 1765
Latter, Catherine app. 1796
*Legros, Madeleine Eliza-
beth b. Aug. 11, 1757
Merçeron,¹¹ Ann Elizabeth
Collin b. Feb. 21, 1826
Nadal, Marguerite b. Aug. 28, 1769
Panchaud, Susanne app. 1773
*Pauly, Marguerite b. Oct. 30, 1747
Petit, Anne bap. Oct. 17, 1771
Quenouvault, Amélie b. Feb. 6, 1748
Résin,¹² Catherine died Aug. 19, 1773
Rivière, Louise b. July 14, 1757
Rousset, Charlotte b. Aug. 20, 1773
*Saux, Anne Louise b. June 22, 1760
Stark, Martha¹³ b. Nov. 13, 1874
Stocker, Elizabeth Anne
b. Dec. 24, 1763
Stokes, Matilda b. July 13, 1844
Touchard, Esther b. May 26, 1759
Tousse, Penelope b. Dec. 13, 1754
Turmeau, Anne Marguerite
b. Jan. 20, 1766
Walker, Elizabeth b. Jan. 5, 1766

¹ No. 422 on page 403 in Mr. Beaufort's list.

² Erroneously given as 1753 in Mr. Beaufort's list, No. 475.

³ Appears by error as Bolton in Mr. Beaufort's 1st list of girls, p. 361, No. 499 in 2nd list.

⁴ Erroneously given as 1800 in Mr. Beaufort's 1st list of girls, p. 362.

⁵ Erroneously given as 1810 in Mr. Beaufort's 1st list of girls, p. 362.

⁶ To whose name this note is added: 'son extrait lui donne celui de Pinnard par méprise.' See under this latter name, No. 817, in Mr. Beaufort's list.

⁷ Erroneously given as 1750 in Mr. Beaufort's list, No. 530.

⁸ See Appendix V.

⁹ Appears erroneously as Emily Plume in Mr. Beaufort's 1st list of girls, p. 365; in his 2nd she is given more correctly (see No. 576).

¹⁰ One entry gives the date of birth as 23 Oct. another as 10 Nov.

¹¹ Appears erroneously as Ann Elizabeth Collins in Mr. Beaufort's 1st list of girls, p. 362.

¹² Erroneously given as Refin, No. 854, in Mr. Beaufort's list.

¹³ Erroneously given as Emily in Mr. Beaufort's list of girls, p. 366.

APPENDIX V

A 'MARIAGE DU DÉSERT'

I THINK it worth while to print in full the following two documents concerning the marriage of Susanne Dagassan's parents of which Mr. Beaufort gave but a summary,¹ for we do not often get such details about a 'mariage du désert.' They afford also one more illustration of the minute care with which our Huguenot ancestors dealt with all matters of record, and form yet another link in the chain of associations which binds us so closely to the pleasant land of France.

On the admission of Susanne Dagassan to the school it became necessary, according to the usual custom, to produce her baptismal certificate as well as the marriage certificate of her parents; of the former we know nothing, though our list tells us that Susanne was born in France in 1754. Her parents' marriage certificate was not immediately forthcoming, seeing that the marriage had been celebrated 'au désert.' How it was finally obtained the documents themselves show.

It would be interesting to know whether any of these 'désert' registers still survive; our papers certainly prove that such registers were carefully kept.

*Papiers qui regardent Susanne Dagassan recommandée par
Mr. Foullé pour être admise dans l'école.*

Je ne doute nullement que je n'ai en effet célébré en France le Mariage de Jean Dagassan et d'Elizabeth Canterac. Les réponses qu'elle a faites à mes questions et tout ce qu'elle m'a dit d'ailleurs doivent m'en persuader, aussi bien que le poids de la recommandation de Mr. Montrepaux. Comme les Registres sont dans le sein des Eglises et que je ne me rappelle pas du jour de la célébration etc., il convient pour l'ordre qu'avant de lui expédier le certificat qu'elle réclame que Mons. Black prenne la peine d'écrire un mot en France suivant les instructions que je lui donnerai.

Je supplie Messieurs les Directeurs de vouloir bien en attendant admettre la suppliante aux effets de la Charité qu'elle sollicite.

ANDRÉ GRENIER DE BARMONT,²

Ancien Sr (? Secrétaire)

des Eglises Réformées de France.

Londres, 28 9^{bre} 1763.

¹ No. 583 in his list. ² Haag, *La France Protestante*, 1^{ier} éd. T. v. 363.

As a result no doubt of steps taken in accordance with the instructions, unfortunately only referred to in the letter, we next have the following copy of the certificate :

Extrait du Régistre Général de Mariage des Eglises Réformées de l'Agenois et Condommois.

L'an 1754 et le 10^{me} jour du mois de Juin, fut béni au Désert par Monsieur André Grenier de Barmont, Ministre du S^{te} Evangile, en présence de témoins dignes de foi et selon l'usage établi dans les Eglises Réformées de France, le Mariage de Jean Dagassan, Tailleur, fils à feu autre Jean Dagassan, et à Margueritte Noguét, mariés, habitants du lieu de Maroule terre de Clairac,¹ d'une part : et d'Elizabeth Canterac fille à feu Pierre Canterac et à defunte Susanne Pouy, Mariés habitants du lieu de Brechan terre de Layrac¹ d'autre part.

Expedié du Désert le 15 Juin 1754.

Je certifie le contenu en foi de quoi.

GRENIER DE BARMENT,
Ministre du S^{te} Evangile.

¹ Both in Lot-et-Garonne.

‘La Terreur Blanche.’

By CHARLES POYNTZ STEWART, F.S.A. Scot.

YOU will possibly take additional interest in my observations on this subject when I tell you that I have conversed with many contemporaries of the scenes depicted, some of whom took part in them.

As a youth I lived for some years in Paris, and it used to be my delight to talk to the maimed and aged ‘Invalides’ or Pensioners. Some had taken part in the ‘Terreur blanche’ (of which they spoke with disgust from having had to shoot down their own countrymen), as also in the destruction of what they termed Calvinist ‘temples’ or sometimes ‘temples hérétiques.’ It is to this that I wish now to draw your attention. It is difficult to do so effectively without alluding to the political events of that period. The later representatives of the Bourbons were not warlike, nor heroes, nor was the Restoration popular, except with the aristocracy and the Church. Both had suffered cruelly under the past *régimes*, and looked for rehabilitation and compensation under the White Flag and Golden Lilies. Revenge predominated in the minds of those sufferers.

Already on January 28, 1815, while at Cambrai, the coming king foreshadowed by a proclamation his policy of punishing defection and high treason, and on August 19 the gallant Labédoyère was finally convicted and shot within a few hours. The Royalists became sanguinary; high-born ladies were as violent as any; and, worthy successors of the terrible ‘Tricoteuses’ of the Revolution, they applauded Labédoyère’s execution, and dreaded lest Ney and others should be reprieved, regardless of the glory these had conferred on France.

These examples were not lost on the lower orders ever

ready for disorder already smouldering and fanned by the disbanded armies of the fallen Emperor. La Vendée and Brittany had been before this the theatres of civil war, and after the advent of the Bourbons armed peasants and lawless roughs ruled the south and west. As usual Marseilles was first to distinguish itself by wholesale massacres for two days; and, encouraged by many of the priests, mobs attacked the Protestants, pillaging, burning their property, their houses, and murdering the hated Calvinists mercilessly throughout Languedoc and Gascony. A formidable insurrection at Nîmes followed, and after much bloodshed the Clericals were routed after many Protestants had fallen victims to their ferocity.

The absolute predominance of ecclesiastical power was, however, broken; the despotism of the Republic and then of Buonaparte crushed it till the events of 1814–20, when the restoration of the party which had always been intolerant again caused violent measures and revived the old bigotry for its own ends.

On the *Fête Dieu*, Protestants received orders to follow the example of the Catholic inhabitants and hang tapestries and carpetings from their windows for the Church procession—an arbitrary proceeding which produced much indignation and resistance as being a novelty and against the Constitution. Some who had previously acquiesced out of courtesy to their neighbours refused, and were fined and imprisoned. In one village alone sixty persons were thus punished, and this system was carried out even when the greater number in a village were Protestants. The ground for the penalties was that the Catholic faith was the only one authorised by the State and ‘Charter.’ This was, of course, absolutely untrue—it was not in the ‘Charter.’

We must not forget that the clergy very early in the Revolution period (1789) voted unanimously that the nobles should be despoiled of their possessions, foremost the great Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun, the bishops of Chartres, Nancy, the archbishops of Bordeaux, Vienne, Aix, etc.—but the spoliation this time was that of the Church.

This was, of course, violently opposed by the priesthood—their property, *their* enormous revenues and spacious acres and abbeys were ‘sacred,’ and they rapidly altered their views and joined the nobles in their common cause. At Nîmes (1789) Catholic corps of militia were enlisted. Local Government elections took place in January 1790. Every effort of fanaticism was used by the Clericals, however mendacious and dishonourable, and the Clerical Party gained the day—primitive arms, forks with sawbacks and such-like persuasives were distributed as ‘spiritual weapons’ (besides priestly literature distributed by curés and abbés) and the formation of ‘Catholic societies and companies’ of Nîmes.

The Commissioners appointed by Louis XVI and the National Assembly have left on record the following ample justification of the professors of the Protestant faith :

‘In the history of the massacres of Nîmes, you will perceive throughout the traces of fanaticism and revolt. It was not till November, that is, till the decrees on the property of the clergy, that any disunion or agitation existed, and from that moment the people were inspired with alarm for the fate of the Catholic religion, and with fury against the Protestants, and, under the veil of religious jealousy, the most wicked designs were concealed. After these were defeated, scores of libels were published, accusing the Protestants with the excitement of tumult, and the intended massacre of the priests. It is, we are confident, unnecessary to answer such absurd and groundless charges. The Protestants were the objects of party hatred, as soon as a party was formed against the new order of things. From the epoch of the dissatisfaction of the clergy, they became the butt for a cloud of calumnious shafts, artfully thrown at *them*, to produce a counter-revolution in the south of France. It is absolutely false that the Protestants were the aggressors, and it is as improbable as false that they should plan any hostile movements. In Nîmes they are only a third of the population : what interest could they have in troubles ? what had they to regret ? what had they lost ? Privileges, titles, wealth had not been taken from them, but they had gained everything by the Revolution, which commenced with others. They blessed it ; they had obtained civil rights ; and, devoted to manufacture and commerce, they desired public tranquillity and a free

government which would promote their fortunes by favouring their industry. Such men have not premeditated the frightful crimes of which they have been accused, and which have been announced to all France as the fruit of a system long and deeply prepared.’

The King and the National Assembly attested the truth of this report ; and thus absolved I need pursue no farther, on this charge, the vindication of the Protestants.

From the date of the Restoration all Catholic religious ceremonies and processions were permitted in public, though forbidden since 1790 in localities inhabited by persons professing different religions, and these privileges were at once restored with every additional ostentation and pomp which could be made offensive and humiliating to the Protestants.

House-to-house petitions were circulated asking the Chambers to recall the Jesuits, and groups of Catholics marched through the towns and villages singing verses threatening ‘to wash their hands in Protestant blood.’¹

Was it surprising that the Protestants mourned over the fall of the just and impartial days of Buonaparte and dreaded the return to power of their inveterate foes in politics and religion ? that, from mild political views favourable to Buonaparte, they should have been driven through despair into opposition of the new and intolerant *régime* in the vain hope of escaping wholesale massacre ? So far, however, were the Protestants from forming a new and premeditated opposition that the Préfet of Nîmes wrote to the Minister of the Interior that :—

‘This is the only Department in which Protestantism forms a Political Party and it contains excellent Royalists, but in general they are anti-royalists ; I cannot, however, give them up to the fury of a re-action from which they have received great provocation. . . .’

Throughout the period of which we treat, the Protestants

¹ It is very probable that some of the ecclesiastics who fomented these ultra-Catholic exhibitions may have been partakers of Protestant hospitality and financial aid at Winchester and elsewhere about 1796. (*Vide my Address, Proceedings*, xi. 2.)

were the defenceless victims of cruelty in every form : though they were not the only ones, their blood was shed more freely than that of other sufferers till even other nations were roused to anger.

Political differences were far from being the only motives for these outrages and murders ; they were largely due to religious differences of long standing between the two faiths now face to face.

The population of the Département du Gard was then 325,000, of which over 115,000 were Protestants. To the latter the Revolution had granted not only full political and civil rights, but complete freedom in the exercise of their worship and religious ceremonies. The Empire had upheld this just freedom and equality, but the return of the Bourbons awakened the old intolerance : the change meant for the Catholics a return to the old order ; in making their faith the ' established religion ' of the State, its former supremacy was reinstated, and once more the Protestants were driven into a lower grade of citizenship, despised as outcasts and heathens.

On August 2, 1815, the distinguished Marshal Brune, though he had ceded his command to the Royalist Marquis de Rivière, was slaughtered by ' white cockade ' mobs while endeavouring to repress their fury at Avignon, and the disbanded troops of the Duc d'Angoulême (Les Miguelets) murdered and outraged all suspected Buonapartists and Protestants unchecked.

At Nîmes one Graffan, *alias* Trestaillons, was the perpetrator of terrible atrocities during July and August 1815, equalled by the ' Verdetts,' so called from their green uniforms, the colour of the Comte d'Artois (Charles X), and reputed as specially attached to him.

At La Réole the two brothers Faucher, generals under Napoleon's Consulate, were on the flimsiest unproved accusations condemned without even a defending counsel on September 26, and shot next day.

These murders, like many others, were not brought about by the mob alone, but by connivance with high officials on

whom the real responsibility lies. Indeed, such was the terrorism, such the demoralisation, that no counsel had the courage to come forward and defend these unfortunate brothers, victims of reaction.

M. Daudet alludes to a letter written by General Baron Briche in 1815, from Montpellier, in which he said :

‘The object of these pretended Royalists and false partisans of the King is only the pillage and sacking of the Protestant properties which alone amount to two-thirds of the trade of this town and maintain by their manufactories a population of 12,000 to 15,000 inhabitants.’ (‘Archives Nationales : Dossier des événements du midi en 1815’; and ‘Archives du Dépôt de la Guerre.’)

Baron Briche greatly distinguished himself in Spain and elsewhere, but on the fall of Napoleon in 1814, joined the Bourbon sovereign, commanded the royal troops at Nîmes, and did his best to suppress the Buonapartist reaction there. On giving orders for the arrest of one of the ringleaders he was attacked in his own room by his troops, but bared his breast to the bayonets of the assassins while absolutely refusing their demands. His epaulets were torn off, swords were flourished in his face, but his resolute will and magnificent courage saved his life ; he was placed under arrest but subsequently rescued in July 1815, when he issued a proclamation which proves how great a part Catholic bigotry had taken in these murderous events. ‘I come,’ said he, ‘in the King’s name to bring you peace, union, and concord. Let religious differences no longer come between as a foul phantom of discord, it is but a desperate, perfidious attempt to lead you to ruin.’

Among the most devoted of Napoleon’s generals was General Baron Gilly, who supported the fallen cause, fought against the Bourbon troops as late as July 1816, and was by court-martial condemned to death *par contumace*, but subsequently included in the amnesty of that year. An anecdote respecting him shows the straightforward and honourable feeling of the Protestants. A heavy reward being offered for his apprehension, the disguised general sought a precarious

refuge in various cottages, and finally with a Protestant peasant who, unaware that he was Gilly, told him of this reward. The latter, worn out by anxiety and suspense, and wearied of his miserable existence, replied : ' I know Gilly and where he is hiding ; let us denounce him. The only reward I ask is my liberty. You can keep the 10,000 francs, they will be useful to you.' The peasant's son, an old soldier, was furious and turned on Gilly saying : ' Hitherto we have taken you for an honest man, but as you are one of those foul denouncers get off, or I throw you out.' Gilly then told them who he was, to the unbounded joy of this honest Protestant family.

At Toulouse General Ramsel shared the tragic fate of Marshal Brune : through the Département du Gard, religious fanaticism characterised the Bourbon partisans ; at Nîmes, Uzès, and elsewhere murderers rushed through the streets, butchering the defenceless Calvinists in broad daylight and howling ' Death to the Protestants ! '

The local authorities were apathetic, silent, powerless. Even the Duc d'Angoulême had to hasten twice to Nîmes, with stern measures towards his bigoted partisans before staying the blood torrent they had caused, and to arrest it the bayonets of the Austrian garrison troops were even called in at Marseilles.

After one of the great riots at Nîmes by the infuriated Catholic mob, the Duc d'Angoulême addressed the National Guard (which had refused to protect the Protestants) in glowing terms, declaring ' that the disturbances which had agitated Nîmes for three months had been caused by malevolent enemies of government,' whereas these horrors were due to the Bourbon partisans against Buonapartists and by the scum of the populace encouraged by the clerical party.

On August 15, the great Festival of the Assumption, crowds of females of the party calling itself Bourbonists attacked the Protestant women, threw them down, half stripped them and flogged them in sight of an applauding multitude, who, armed with sticks shod with iron, violently assaulted their fellow-citizens of the hated faith. The Bourbon officials not

only remained passive spectators of these abominations, but excused them as being ‘acts which no one could foresee or prevent, but most unfortunate.’

This outrageous partiality characterised all the administrative measures. For instance, the Département du Gard was liable for 940,000 francs. The Catholics formed three-fifths of the population, the remaining two-fifths being Protestants and a few Jews. The latter had to pay 200,000 francs, the Protestants 600,000 francs, and the Catholics 140,000 francs only.

At the news of the first massacre at Nîmes, the ruffian Graffan led a party from Uzès to the houses of the wealthiest Protestants, killed the men, threw the women out of the windows, and carried off everything of value. Every Protestant house was thus treated. Hearing that six Protestants had been thrown recently into prison, Graffan forced the jailer to give them up on the order of the Military Commandant, and shot them publicly on the ‘esplanade’—all under the order of the Bourbon Commandant, be it noted. Armed bands rushed from Nîmes into the country around, ravaged, murdered, or blackmailed the Protestant farmers and small cultivators. Some of the more remote, isolated, and consequently defenceless victims, wishing to find protection, obtained from the Préfet of Alons white flags and cockades. This was done under the eyes of the ‘Sous-Préfet’ who, on August 2, gave Graffan the order to march on those very men termed now by that treacherous official ‘disguised rebels.’ Graffan, proud of this official order, marched forthwith to St. Maurice, seized six men haphazard, brought them triumphantly to the same ‘esplanade,’ and shot them under the windows of the ‘Sous-Préfet,’ notwithstanding the protests of the doomed men that they were Royalists and bore the white cockade.

A few days previously the date for the elections of Deputies had been settled, when further murders were perpetrated. The numerous Protestant electors, terrorised, had remained hidden or fled, but about the middle of August began to show themselves again as things seemed quieter. Proclamations were issued to induce them to return, and the acting

Préfet even released many of 'the Religion' whom he had himself incarcerated.

The instigators of the massacres were determined not to allow those they hated any share in the elections fixed for August 22. On August 18, 19, 20, and 21 pillages and assassinations began again, corpses were thrown on the town refuse heap, amongst them those of the poor captives just released.

These sanguinary measures produced the success desired by these monsters, and their two candidates were naturally elected, one being an avowed, open protector of the head-assassin Graffan, *alias* Trestaillons, and his accomplices.

For months no protest was made against these acts openly committed in the full swing of a general election in a town of 40,000 inhabitants. It was not, as we shall presently see, till October 23 that an attempt was made by Voyer d'Argenson to open an inquiry as to these events.

The loss by pillage was laid at five millions of francs; 350 houses were destroyed; biggest manufactories ruined, and the silk trade utterly extinguished. The name of Protestant was a death sentence; churches were pulled down, such as Uzès, Montagnac, Courtonouteral, Avignon, Pignan; Protestants were disarmed and therefore helpless, and were the only victims, so it was clear they did not suffer as Buonapartists.

The chief enormities were committed in July and August 1815; flourishing warehouses, manufactories, looms, 'temples,' farms, crops, vineyards of the Protestants were indiscriminately destroyed, debts to Catholics cancelled, thousands fled to the hills, and the roads were crowded with aged and helpless fugitives, mothers with babies in their arms, accompanied by their pastors who were the chief objects of murderous hate.

Permission having been given by the Duc d'Angoulême for reopening the 'temples,' the Protestants assembled on November 12, 1816, for worship, but were insulted and assaulted on their way. General Lagarde with troops endeavoured to protect them, but the mob poured into the church and cruelly maltreated the congregation, sacking the 'Temple.' In this

combat the general was shot in the back and taken up for dead, but survived. On November 26 the arrival of more Catholic soldiers led to repetitions of these slaughters.

One of the many scandalous results of the events here sketched was the utter impunity extended to the perpetrators by the restored government of the Bourbons, the tardiness of any punishment, and the feeble judgments given. Many dragged on till 1821, by which time much had faded from the memories of all except the surviving victims, many witnesses were dead, others were silent from terrorism, while dread of vengeance threatened by the guilty resulted in outrageous acquittals and unblushing miscarriage of justice. Trestailons, whom we have alluded to as one of the most bloodthirsty persecutors, was arraigned before the Court of Uzès on eight different charges of robbery, pillage, destruction of houses and temples, murder, even of prisoners, chiefly Protestants, in batches, but the verdict was futile, and the party he served so well got him away before the trial was over, and he thus escaped all penalty.

Attempts, already alluded to, were made in the Chamber of Deputies to set on foot investigations into the terrible massacres, but such was the ardour of the ultra-Catholic party that the proposal met with violent and uncompromising, indeed well-nigh riotous, opposition.

The courageous appeals of d'Argenson, the eloquence of the Comte de St. Aulaire (father-in-law of the Duc Décazes) demanding mere justice for the Protestants, their wives, and children, the touching petition of Madier de Montjau (as late as 1820) praying for prosecution of the murderers of these innocents, all were useless. Fresh revelations of more crimes produced no effect on the partisans of the clerical party; amid vociferous cheers and abuse, the appeals were stifled and unheard, while De Montjau, called to ‘order,’ was silenced. It was a riotous and disgraceful scene, discreditable to its promoters and the entire ultra-Catholic party.

But the affair was not to rest there. Later M. Madier de Montjau was actually summoned before the Court of Cassation presided over by the Keeper of the Seals, for having

divulged these authenticated horrors and asked for protection for the victims and punishment of the criminals. Curiously, this Keeper of the Seals and Minister of Justice was Monsieur de Serre, who as recently as 1819 had from the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies made a magnificent appeal of the same nature to the Deputies and through them to the entire nation, in rousing words, which were not without great effect, yet produced no practical results. Indeed, in the elections of 1820-21 two of the most violent enemies of the Protestants were elected Deputies at Nîmes.

Such were some of the events of 'La Terreur blanche,' which went on at intervals till 1820. I have not tried to give them in exact chronological order, for some of them overlapped each other, some were repetitions in the same localities or in their vicinity. My object has been to show the character of this 'Terreur,' that it was not purely political but largely a renewal of the bigotry which was stamped on the earlier Bourbon sovereigns. It was therefore necessary to give facts recognised as such by the few serious French historians who have written on the 'Double Restoration' of a line which had forgotten nothing and learnt nothing. It was this fatal defect which aroused the national anger against the next and last Bourbon sovereign, Charles X, in 1830, and drove him from his throne into exile when ultra-Catholic measures and revival of laws savouring of feudal times were proposed by his ministers and supported by the King. Similar views tenaciously held by his next heir, the Duc de Bordeaux (called by his party Henri Cinq), rendered his succession to the throne an impossibility, and with him the Bourbon line became extinct—fortunately for France and religious liberty.

In their distress the Protestant victims endeavoured to obtain the sympathy and intervention of Great Britain through her clergy, dissenters and parliament, where the eloquence of Sir S. Romilly and Brougham divulged their sufferings and upheld their cause. But communication with England was difficult, and the Bourbon government did its best to prevent it by threatening dire penalties. Our own Government and people were imbued with favour to the Bourbon King they had

placed on the French throne, and with hatred of Napoleon and his supporters. The Press and the Government were unsympathetic and endeavoured to minimise the terrible facts, though in vain : a petition from the City of London to the Prince Regent received his chilling reply that though 'disposed to interpose his good offices on a proper occasion, this was not the time when it was called for.'

Sir Samuel Romilly in the House of Commons moved for papers to be laid on the table relative to the tragic occurrences in the South of France in a fine speech, eloquently supported by Mr. Brougham, on May 22, 1816, whose speech may be thus summarised :

'That motion had been supported by a great mass of information—not only by the facts which his hon. and learned friend had adduced, but by the ample confirmation of all those painful details in the letter which had been read by the noble lord, which gave an idea of persecutions even more extensive than his hon. and learned friend had supposed. They were told by that letter that one thousand murders had been perpetrated by the armed Catholics on the unarmed Protestants, besides a vast number of atrocities which it was too painful to relate or contemplate.'

Lord Castlereagh emphatically opposed the motion, having just returned from a long residence at the Court of Louis XVIII, saturated with Bourbon views. He admitted the facts, though some might have been exaggerated ; also that 1000 lives were lost in the Department, and some 300 houses destroyed, but this was confined to a small district : interference would be improper, and the French Government would have the same right to interfere in behalf of the Catholics. Under the present Government there was no probability of a renewal of the disturbances, but at the same time there could not be perfect harmony in the Department unless there were a change in the official system.

Such was the cold cynical view of our rulers, destined to be proved erroneous by fresh outbreaks going on till 1820, though at longer intervals. One in 1818 was so serious as to goad the staunch Calvinist fighters of the Cévennes into

preparations for a descent *en masse* on the Catholic desperadoes. Bourbon troops were hurriedly sent to separate the parties and prevent a renewal of 'religious wars.'

Lord Castlereagh's reply was dictated by political expediency alone, for at that time, though the restored king was being propped up by British bayonets, he was growing steadily unpopular. He took no measures to punish the murderers, or to protect the co-religionists of a nation which was the bulwark of the Reformed Faith, a nation to which the Bourbon line owed undying gratitude as also respectful acquiescence had our national remonstrance been firmly made.

Such is the condensed story of one of the latest persecutions of Huguenot descendants, and of deeds unpunished, though terrible, which occurred as late as the days of the parents of many of us. It is a melancholy narrative and naturally arouses many thoughts.

We have for nearly twelve years travelled together along many bypaths of Huguenot history, during which period you have conferred on me the rare privilege of addressing you annually. Beginning with 1572, the events of 1815-20 form a suitable final chapter to the series which I trust has not palled on you. I feel, however, that I must not trespass further on the generous favour of those who have so often waived their turn for me, but say with Juvenal: '*Semper ego auditor tantum.*'

These pages do not pretend to be a complete record, but only an introductory sketch; there are sources of information in France which should be invaluable—for example, the 'Archives Nationales (Nîmes)' in Paris; the 'Archives du Consistoire de l'Eglise Réformée de Nîmes,' and of the 'Département du Gard'; also amongst other works and pamphlets not obtainable here, one by Comte Le Doulcet de Pontécoulant, which has been sought for in Paris in vain.

It now only remains for me to say to all my kind friends of this Society once more '*Au revoir! pas adieu! cette fois.*'

Some of us may like to read more on this subject, so I would suggest also the following authorities:

L. de Vielcastel : *Histoire de la Restauration*, 1860-77. (20 vols.)

F. Lichtenberger : *Encyclopédie des Sciences Religieuses*, 1877-82.

Causes des troubles à Nîmes, 1815 (114, H 4, B.M. Library).

Cobbin, J. : *Persecution of the Protestants in the South of France*, 1815.

Daudet, E. : *La Terreur Blanche*, 1878.

Lange de Peret (P. H.) : *Éclaircissements Historiques*, 1818.

Tenaille de Vaublanc (A.) : *Histoire des deux Restaurations*, 1813-30 (1857).

Wilks, M. : *History of the Persecutions*, 1820.

Williams (H. M.) : *Letters on the events . . .*, 1819 ; *Narrative of the events in France . . .* (1814-15), 1815.

Hall, Sir J. R. : *The Bourbon Restoration*, 1909.

Archives of the British Embassy in Paris preserved at the Public Record Office, London.

The Times of August 31, November 11 and 14, and December 4, 1815, June 5, 1816, and September 26, 1817.

Hogarth and his Friendship with the Huguenots.

By W. H. MANCHÉE.

If we are to adopt the popular idea of the artist and his pictures, Hogarth would assuredly seem to be the last man to be found consorting with Huguenots. The chief authorities on his works, treating him as a master of satire, were too eager in their search for caricature to consider any other side of the artist's character. Wheatley, however, in his *Hogarth's London* modifies the Bohemian reputation of the artist's bachelor days, and gives us the representation of a man jovial and mirth-loving it is true, but settling down on his marriage into the steady hardworking citizen, fond of home, and merely anxious to maintain his wife and pay his way.

It would have been about the period of his marriage that the artist's friendship with the Huguenots may have commenced. They could have been no strangers to him, for in his early days as an apprentice in Leicester Fields he must necessarily have met many of the French Refugees. Soho was at that time very largely peopled by French silversmiths, the trade in which he was apprenticed, and adjacent to his master's shop was one of the important French churches; indeed, seeing that practically his whole life was spent in Soho, it would have been strange had he not possessed a more than casual acquaintance with these Frenchmen, his near neighbours and fellow-craftsmen. In that acquaintance, as his reputation grew, he would have been helped by his association with men of his own and allied professions, in all of which, so far as Soho was concerned, the French Refugee predominated.

How or when Hogarth's connection with his Huguenot friends arose, it is impossible to say definitely. Details of his life are meagre, so that practically all we have to guide us

are the characters as they occur in the artist's pictures. Taking these in their chronological order of publication, the first appearance of any Huguenot is in 'Conversation,' a portrait of Lord Ilchester and his family, published shortly after the artist's marriage in 1733. In that picture one of the minor figures is a clergyman, standing on a chair, with a telescope to his eye, who is generally identified as a Mr. Villemain. This I take to be Pierre Louis Vuillemin, the *lecteur des prières* or curate, at the French Church in Castle Street from 1727 to 1733.

It seems quite justifiable to assume this gentleman to have been the probable sponsor of the artist on his introduction to the Huguenot circle in Soho. At any rate the picture 'Conversation' is followed by that of 'The Sleeping Congregation,' published in 1736, in which Dr. Jean Theophilus Desaguliers forms the central figure. This picture seems to have perplexed the caricature hunters, although Nichols suggests that the peculiarly inanimate mode of preaching affected by Desaguliers may have suggested the subject. One cannot help feeling that it was the portrait of a friend. There is no need to detail the reputation of this cleric-philosopher. His portrait alone would have sold the picture, quite apart from any artistic merit, and had it been that this was the only instance in which his portrait appears, one might perhaps characterise as absurd the idea of any friendship; but we find the same portrait appearing later in two others—'The Conquest of Mexico' and another at Oxford. Moreover, there is the portrait of Desagulier's daughter also painted by Hogarth. One would expect special care to be taken in the portrait of a friend's child, and it is not surprising, therefore, to find the critics' description of this portrait as 'a very fine head.' It certainly seems from all this, that there was at least some considerable acquaintance between the philosopher and the artist.

Following 'The Sleeping Congregation' comes the series, 'Four Times of the Day,' published in 1738. In all these Hogarth seems to have introduced a personal element, and that mainly Huguenot in character. In the first, 'Morning'

(it will be remembered), the central figure is stated to be an aunt of the artist. The representation may or may not be a caricature, but the satire hunters are delighted to retail that, as a result of its publication, the artist was cut out of his relative's will. In this picture there are certain items of Huguenot interest, such as Tom's Coffee House, the favourite haunt of Laroon the artist; but these have no real bearing unless coupled with the pictures following it.

The second, 'Noon,' is almost entirely Huguenot in character. The clergyman in the doorway is stated to be Mr. Hervé, an ancestor of Mr. A. Hervé Browning, our present Treasurer. Now the church shown—*Les Grecs*, or the Greek Church in Charing Cross Road—although one of the most prominent in Soho, was certainly not the most fashionable, and had it been a case merely of picturing a Huguenot congregation, the artist, a stranger as it were, would preferably have selected either Leicester Fields as better known to him, or the Savoy Church, where the *haute noblesse* of the Refugees forgathered. Especially would the Savoy Church have been selected had the picture been, as it is assumed, a satire on the French, and their mode of dressing.

Mr. Hervé's ministry at *Les Grecs* extended from 1727 to 1731, and the picture appeared in 1738; Mr. Hervé at the latter date was tutor to the Royal Princesses, so that one can only regard the picture as a mark of friendship; and possibly also as meant to show the artist's close acquaintance with the congregation, of which it is probable the two central figures were well-known members. Of his sedulous care in the picture there can be no doubt, for Ireland mentions that, after Ravenet had finished the engraving, Hogarth inserted the child's figure in front, practically the only object the satire hunters can seize upon, an addition doubtless made to emphasise the artist's knowledge of the French mode in vogue at that period with the Refugees of dressing children.

The print 'Evening,' to the characters of which no names are ascribed, gives us the picture of a French dyer and his family at Sadlers Wells. To allow of no mistake the man's

fingers are tipped with blue as indicative of his trade, and, as if definitely to settle the question of his nationality, the figure of the child in its French dress is again repeated here. Sadlers Wells was 'discovered' in 1683, and in the following year its medicinal virtues were extolled in a pamphlet by Dr. Thomas Grudett, a fact which possibly resulted in a certain number of his fellow Frenchmen visiting the spot. It may be that this picture was meant as a bit of fun at the expense of some Frenchman known to the artist, the humour of which would have appealed to those knowing the circumstances, otherwise it would seem difficult to account for the shifting of the 'locale' outside London.

In the last of the series, 'Night,' the drunken man, led home by the tyler or porter of his Lodge, is stated to be Sir Thomas de Veil, who was knighted for his services in the suppression of the Spitalfields riots of 1736, which arose out of the employment of Irish workmen. The displeasure which the Huguenot community must have felt at de Veil's action is reflected in the artist's drawing, the only instance in which a Refugee is pictured in any disgraceful form.

It will thus be seen that there is what one might term a Huguenot influence throughout the whole of this series; otherwise it is difficult to find any reason for their publication. In topographical detail Hogarth is hopelessly incorrect, and deducting that feature from the series, there is nothing left but the personal element, and its Huguenot influence.

In 1742, under the title of 'The Charmers of the Age,' the artist gives a picture of Desnoyers, the French dancing master, into whose arms Sir Joshua Reynolds is stated to have fallen on his fatal seizure. The representation of Desnoyers with Barberini in a dance can hardly be called, as it has been, satire; rather might it be taken as a contemporary record of Desnoyers' skill as a dancer, and again also that of a friend.

Judging by the pictures of this period Hogarth was evidently moving in good society, and we see the influence of his environment reflected in the series of 'Marriage à la mode,' published in 1745, in which he attacks the immoral side of fashionable

life. The familiarity with Huguenot private opinion, shown in the treatment of de Veil in 'Night,' is again apparent here. In No. 3 we have the portrait of another backslider, Dr. Misaubin, the fashionable quack, who, contrary to the statement by Sir Claud Phillipps, seems to have made a large fortune by the sale of his patent pill. Misaubin *père*, generally described as Minister of a French Church in Spitalfields, arrived in England with his son in 1701, and both made their *reconnaissance*—the public avowal of faith on admission to communion—at the Savoy Church, the entry running thus :

'Misaubin, Jacques : 75 ans, et Jean, son fils : 28 ans, de Guienne : 1 Juin 1701.'

It will be noticed the father is not described as a Minister, although his name appears later on the Bounty Pension lists as such. An aged man on his arrival here, it is probable that he may have occasionally assisted at various places, but he was never elected as Minister to any particular church.

The son, who it will be noticed was twenty-eight years old on his arrival, took his degree of L.R.C.P. in 1719, at the age of forty-six. As he died in 1734, prior to the publication of the print, it is probable that he was about sixty when the picture was painted.

In 1746, the year following the series of 'Marriage à la mode,' we have the picture of David Garrick as Richard III. Whether Hogarth's friendship with the actor was due to any Huguenot link it is impossible to say, but the fact of Garrick's Huguenot ancestry may have been the means of cementing the high regard which it is known the artist had for the accomplished actor. The subject chosen by the artist was that of Garrick's initial London triumph at Goodmans Fields, and its selection as a permanent record of what was probably the most memorable event in the actor's life shows how close the friendship must have been. Garrick, born in 1716, first came to London in 1737, accompanied by Dr. Samuel Johnson, his old schoolmaster, and, after entering as a student at Lincoln's Inn, went to Rochester to prepare for his examinations. Financial reasons caused him to abandon the Bar a

few months later, and to join his brother in London as a partner in the wine trade. It was not until October 1741, nearly a year after his mother's death, that he acquaints his brother of his appearance as Richard III at Goodmans Fields. It is possible that Garrick and Hogarth had met in Huguenot circles before this event, for it is quite likely that, prior to his stage career, the future actor would have been attached to some church in Soho during his earlier period of residence in London. That he was so attached is evident from an entry in the Savoy registers, in which Garrick appears as godfather. The entry is as follows :

'1744, 20 Mai, Garrick, fils de Jean Jaques Lannadalle et d'Elizabeth Wall. Né 3 Mai. Ministre, Mr. Thomas Hervé. Parrain, Mestre Garrick. Marraine, Margueritte Woffington.'

In 1747 appeared the artist's well-known series of 'Industry and Idleness.' The silk-weavers of Spitalfields were at that period a very important and wealthy class, the majority of whom were Refugees, and the representation of their trade in his illustration of 'Industry' seems to furnish still another instance of Hogarth's regard for the French Refugees.

Spitalfields was then as separate from Soho as a provincial town is from London to-day, and there were many other trades close home, such as tapestry weaving, which he could equally well have chosen. It therefore seems difficult to imagine why, with all the wealth of detail around him, the artist should, without some special reason, have gone so far afield for his subject. I suggest that Hogarth may have been taken by some Huguenot friend in Soho to Spitalfields, and, if so, the series is especially noteworthy as evidence of the close connection of the Huguenots in Soho with those in Spitalfields, a fact which would have been unknown to any outside the Huguenot circle. The beautiful work woven, and the general prosperity of the weavers may very well have suggested the subject of the series, and the fact of a portion of the weaving colony of Spitalfields being within the City boundary, with the consequent thought that the master weaver was eligible to occupy the civic chair, would have added the finishing

touch. It will be noticed how careful Hogarth is, by the insertion of the word 'Spittle Fields' in his first drawing, to mark the site, and the correct drawing of the looms, coupled with the placing of the looms on the upper floor shown in a later drawing, all evidence how well the artist must have studied his subject. No names are ascribed to the persons shown, but a glance at the figures will prove how French in appearance they are, and there is not much doubt but that here also we have the portrait of some Huguenot friend.

Among the different settings chosen for the adventures of the Idle Apprentice is that of Marylebone Churchyard (Plate III). Hogarth had already in his 'Rake's Progress' (Plate V) given the interior of the church, and there is no doubt that the spot, with its neighbouring tea gardens kept by a Huguenot lady, Madame Carrière, would have been a favourite one for many an excursion by the artist and his wife. Note further that in this particular picture we have the tomb of John des Champs on which the boys are playing. This was a well-known feature of the place, its composition partly of old stones taken from the surrounding graves affording much amusement to the general public. The introduction of this tomb into the picture served a double purpose, as bringing in a scene familiar to many, while pleasing his Huguenot friends.

Throughout his works there seems to be this desire to please, seemingly pointing to a very great regard for the Refugees. For instance, in 'The March to Finchley' (published 1750) there are two French figures, the eel-pie man selling his wares, and the gentleman in black delivering a note to a soldier, both displaying perfectly seemly behaviour amidst a crowd of riot. The many alterations made in the first editions of his prints furnish even more striking evidence. In 'The Rake's Progress' (Plate I) there is a book showing among other items '4th dined at French Ordinary.' This is erased in the second edition, and replaced by the cover of a Bible as the sole of a shoe. There are other touches one could mention, but possibly the instance of 'Beer Street'

(published 1752) may be sufficient. Originally in this print the butcher is depicted lifting a Frenchman, but later he is portrayed brandishing a leg of mutton. The alteration bears no significance, unless it were due to a fear of wounding those for whom he had a great regard.

The year 1753 finds Hogarth adopting the rôle of author, and, his orthography not being of the best, he obtains the assistance of his Huguenot friend, Dr. Morell of Chiswick, in the editing of his book, an assistance apparently rewarded by a portrait published in 1762.

I have endeavoured to prove the existence of Hogarth's friendship for the Huguenots of his day, and assuming it to have existed, as we may fairly do, it may be of interest to draw attention to the great influence such a friendship must have had on the artist's life and work.

The Refugees, whom he would meet, were men of a sterling character, of whom in their native land their word had been held as good as another's bond. The gathering storm of persecution, which finally broke in 1685, evoked a world-wide sympathy, mingled with respect and admiration for the fortitude with which those persecutions were endured. On the breaking of the storm at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, every Protestant country in Europe opened its arms in welcome to the poor sufferers, nevertheless it must have needed a stern resolution on their part to leave home and country for the sake of their faith.

Judging by the previous experience after St. Bartholomew, the Refugees evidently regarded their exile as one which, after a lapse of time, would end in their return home, and this hope was vainly cherished for some generations. Ready always to affirm their allegiance to their King, provided they were allowed freedom of religious belief, the Refugees remained everywhere a colony apart. It was not until well into the eighteenth century that inter-marriage with the English took place, and it was even much later than that period that English customs were adopted; indeed, so late as the beginning of the nineteenth century a prominent bank kept all its accounts in French, and even at the present day

the services of the Huguenot churches are given in the French language.

In Hogarth's day, therefore, the distinction was very marked. The Refugees, as an outcome of their experiences, displayed a noble piety which governed their every action in daily life, and which, while not dividing them from those among whom they lived, would, from the high standard of life it produced, make the Refugee honoured by all classes.

From the artist's marriage onward it will be noticed that his works are dominated by an influence for good, and that, in his efforts to produce historical works, he chooses for his subjects those of a Biblical character. It may be argued that this influence for good was largely the result of his marriage, and very probably it was ; but we may perhaps claim that his friendship with these early Refugees was not without its effect in the same direction. The influence of such a circle as that of the early Refugees could not have failed to strengthen the better side of any man, and as a result it is probable that the artist attained in his productions a higher standard of excellence than he otherwise would have done. That he was on sufficiently intimate terms with such a man as Dr. Morell, to have made the request he did, is ample evidence in itself to show the circle in which the artist moved, and it is a matter of regret that fuller details of his various friends are not forthcoming.

When one considers Hogarth's genuine power of caricature, and at the same time how greatly the oddities of the Frenchmen must have appealed to his sense of humour, it becomes a matter of astonishment to find all their little foibles passed over unnoticed, unless, as seems probable, for fear of wounding his friends such an omission was of set purpose. Facts are, however, unavailable, and it is only by the grouping of his works, and the bestowal of considerable thought, that the theory advanced has materialised into a conviction that the influence for good of the artist's friendship with the Huguenots is not only probable, but indubitable.

And there we leave it.

Miscellanea.

I. FRENCH NONCONFORMIST CHURCHES OF DUBLIN.

A NUMBER of account-books belonging to these churches, and extending from the foundation of the first of them in 1692, under the Act passed in that year 'for encouraging Protestant Strangers to settle and plant in Ireland,' to the year 1784, were discovered a little while ago in a disused room in the Bank of Ireland, and have been deposited by the Governor of the Bank in the Public Record Office of Ireland. In addition to the information which they contain with regard to other periods, these books fill gaps in the history of the churches from 1697 to 1701 and from 1731 to 1759, for which no records were previously available. The writer hopes that he may, at some later date, be able to complete by their means the History of the Huguenot Churches of Dublin, which appeared in the eighth volume of the Society's *Proceedings*.

T. P. LE FANU.

II. PAUL FOURDRINIER.

I SHOULD be very glad to receive any information dealing with the two following men, about whom I can find nothing but the records of their deaths in the *London Magazine* and *Gentleman's Magazine* respectively :

'Sept. 1768.—Paul Fourdrinier esq., late a silk weaver.

'Aug. 1, 1770.—Paul Fourdrinier esq., merch. at St. Kitts.'

They are not to be confused with Paul Fourdrinier, 'an eminent engraver,' whose death on February 3, 1758, is recorded in the *London Magazine*.

N. D. FOURDRINIER.

142 Kenilworth Court, Putney, S.W. 15.

III. ANGLO-BATAVIAN SOCIETY.

As many Huguenot families have close ties in Holland and South Africa, it is of interest to record here the proposal to found an Anglo-Batavian Society on the lines of the well-known Pilgrims Club, consisting of both British and Dutch members, and with a view to making close and permanent the time-honoured friendship between Great Britain and Holland. It is not proposed for the present to open a regular club-house, but dinners, luncheons, and receptions will be held from time to time as suitable occasions arise, and will afford welcome opportunities of meeting and entertaining leading Dutchmen visiting this country or Englishmen of note visiting Holland. The Club will have its headquarters in London, while the formation of a Dutch section in Holland is contemplated.

Those interested in the proposal should apply for further information to W. R. Bisschop, Esq., D.C.L., Standing Counsel to the Dutch Legation, at 2 Dr. Johnson's Buildings, Temple, London, E.C. 4.

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of the
Huguenot Society of London

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1921

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PROCEEDINGS
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VOL. XII. No. 3

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON

MEETINGS OF THE SESSION 1919-20.

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FIRST ORDINARY MEETING, *Wednesday, November 12, 1919.*
held in the Apartments of the Royal Historical Society,
22 Russell Square, W.C. REGINALD ST. AUBYN ROUMIEU,
Esq., Vice-President, in the chair.

THE Minutes of the Annual Meeting held on May 14 were
read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :

0/60.100 44 p15.
M. Herbertus Hendrikus van Dam, 129 Oude Binnenweg,
Rotterdam.

Major George Reginald Benson, late R.F.A., Easthope, Much
Wenlock, Salop.

Frederick William Mallalieu, Esq., M.P., Larkwood, Delph,
near Oldham.

Miss Helen Walker Dixon, 2 Knollys Croft, Leigham Court
Road, S.W. 16.

M. Aird Jolly, Esq., 14 Byron Road, Ealing, W. 5.

Harry Courtenay Luck, Esq., Courtenay, Zillmere, Queensland.

Mr. Maurice Wilkinson, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., read a Paper
on 'Lamoignon de Bâville's Survey of Languedoc in 1698.'

SECOND ORDINARY MEETING, *Wednesday, January 14, 1920,*
held at the Hôtel Russell, W.C. REGINALD ST. AUBYN
ROUMIEU, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on November 12, 1919,
were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :
 Robert Woodward Buss, Esq., 8 Haysleigh Gardens, Anerley,
 S.E. 20.
 Charles Martineau, Esq., Littleworth, Esher, Surrey.
 Miss Virginia Metge, 1 Cromwell Place, S.W. 5.
 Captain Stephen Walter Godin, Craigower, New Malden,
 Surrey.
 Miss Joan Evans, St. Hugh's College, Oxford.

Mr. Vincent B. Redstone, F.R.Hist.S., read a Paper on
 'The Dutch and Huguenot Settlements in Ipswich from 1560
 to 1720.'

THIRD ORDINARY MEETING, *Wednesday, March 10, 1920*, held
 at the Hôtel Russell, W.C. GEORGE BEAUMONT BEEMAN,
 Esq., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on January 14 were read and
 confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :

Captain Eric Uniacke O'Bryen Oyler, Bath Club, 34 Dover
 Street, W. 1.
 John William Pare, Esq., M.D., F.R.S.Edin., L.D.S.R.C.S.Eng.,
 9A Cavendish Square, W. 1.
 George Herbert Capper, Esq., Elm House, Clapton, E. 5.
 Miss Hilda B. Winter, 19 Glendwr Road, West Kensington,
 W. 14.

Mr. W. Wyatt-Paine, F.S.A., read a Paper entitled 'The
 Last of the Valois.'

THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, *Wednesday, May 12,*
1920, held at the Hôtel Russell, W.C. GEORGE BEAUMONT
 BEEMAN, Esq., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on March 10 were read
 and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :

W. A. W. Beuzeville, Esq., F.R.S.N.S.W., Forestry Commission, Government of New South Wales, Sydney.

Mrs. Anna Mary Furber Cossart, Funchal, Madeira.

Miss Harriette Fanshawe Martin, 5 Oxford Square, Hyde Park, W. 2.

Miss Edith Margaret Magniac, Southview, Bideford, Devon.

Captain Frank Leslie Pavière, A.C.A., 8 Eaton Square, S.W. 1.

The Annual Report of the Council was read as follows :—

*Report of Council to the Thirty-sixth Annual General Meeting
of the Huguenot Society of London.*

The Council has to report that during the past year the Society has lost eight Fellows by death and twelve by resignation. In addition two German libraries have been struck off under By-law V, and three Fellows—two compounders and one Honorary Fellow—of whom nothing has been heard for many years have been presumed dead. Thus the total of losses is twenty-five. Against these has to be set the gain by the election of twenty new Fellows, the net loss being thereby reduced to five.

Among the deaths which the Council has to chronicle with deep regret must be mentioned that of Mrs. James M. Lawton, for many years one of the leading spirits of the Huguenot Society of America. Mr. William John Hardy, F.S.A., who has served frequently on the Council and was one of the early contributors to the *Proceedings*, also died during the past year. It is with very great personal regret that the Council has heard of the death on May 9 of Mrs. Faber, widow of Mr. Reginald S. Faber, for so many years the Society's Honorary Secretary.

The Treasurer's Accounts which are appended to this Report show in the matter of Income and Expenditure for the year ended December 31, 1919, a balance of £240 12s. which has been placed to the Publications Suspense Account.

No publications of the Society were issued during the

year 1919 and therefore no payments were made in respect of this latter account, which now amounts to £300 12s. The Council is, however, pleased to report that the printing of the Society's *Proceedings* has now been resumed and Fellows will have already received the number (Vol. XII, No. 1) containing the papers read during the Session 1917-18. That for the Session 1918-19, forming No. 2 of the same volume, is now in the printers' hands, and upon its completion it is contemplated immediately to put in hand the following number for the session that is now closing, so that by the end of the present year it is hoped that the Society's arrears in respect of this series of its Publications will have been overtaken.

With regard to the quarto publications the Council regrets that it has not been already possible to issue the two volumes dealing with the lists of Naturalizations and Denizations for the eighteenth century, but other calls upon the editor's time have been too pressing to enable him to complete the heavy indexes required for them. Both indexes are, however, in hand and there is now a reasonable hope that under favourable conditions one, if not both, of the volumes will be issued during the present year.

In the meantime work has been continued on the preparation of the more important registers of the French Refugee Churches in this country which are still unprinted, so that as soon as conditions will permit it will be possible to put them in the printers' hands.

The attention of Fellows has already been called to the serious conditions from the Society's point of view created by the present enormously increased cost of printing and paper. Proposals to increase the rates of the annual subscription and composition fees to all Fellows who shall subsequently join us will be submitted to this Meeting, but upon the result of the appeal which was made to existing Fellows the extent to which printing work can in future be undertaken by the Society mainly depends.

Response to the request made in the last Report for returns of services in the War rendered by the descendants of Huguenots has been very general throughout the Society, and already

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT, DECEMBER 31, 1919.

Expenditure.

1919.	Dr.	£	s.	d.
To Salaries	.	65	5	0
" Printing and Stationery	.	27	5	7
" Sundries	.	25	16	8
" Balance (placed to Publications Account)	.	240	12	0
		<u>£358</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>3</u>

Income.

1919.	Cr.	£	s.	d.
By Subscriptions	.	284	11	0
" Entrance Fees	.	11	11	0
" Sale of Publications	.	11	9	0
" Interest	.	51	8	3
		<u>£358</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>3</u>

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31, 1919.

Liabilities.

1919.	Dr.	£	s.	d.
To Composition Fees Capital	.	1323	0	0
" Browning Fund Capital	.	100	0	0
" Browning Fund Income:		£	s.	d.
Balance brought forward	.	20	9	11
Interest added in 1919	.	4	7	2
		<u>24</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>1</u>
" Subscriptions paid in advance	.	7	7	0
" Publications Suspense Account:				
Brought forward from 1918	.	60	0	0
Add balance from Income and Expenditure Account	.	240	12	0
		<u>300</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>0</u>
" Balance brought forward	.	370	11	9
Less irrevocable subscriptions	.	21	0	0
		<u>349</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>

£2105 7 10*Assets.*

1919.	Cr.	£	s.	d.
By Investments, namely:				
On <i>Composition Fees Fund Account</i>				
£1004 6s. 6d. Five Per Cent.				
War Stock 1929-47 @ cost	.	1323	0	0
On <i>General Fund Account</i>				
£210 10s. 6d. Five Per Cent.				
War Stock 1929-47 @ cost	.	200	0	0
£100 Five Per Cent. Exchequer Bonds @ cost	.	100	0	0
£150 On Deposit Account at Bank	.	150	0	0
On <i>Browning Fund Account</i>				
£105 5s. 3d. Five Per Cent.				
War Stock 1929-47 @ cost	.	100	0	0
		<u>1873</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u> ¹
" Subscriptions and Entrance Fees in arrear	.	12	12	0
" Cash at Bank:				
Browning Fund	.	24	17	1
General Fund	.	194	18	9
		<u>219</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>10</u>

£2105 7 10¹ Worth on Dec. 31, 1919, @ middle prices £1456 15s. 7d.

Audited and found correct.

April 20, 1920.

WILLIAM MINET.
HARLEY M. GRELLIER.

close upon five hundred individual records have been received. It is believed that yet more are to be expected, but it will probably be necessary shortly to close the lists, when the question of how best the whole may be put on permanent record will engage the Council's consideration. It has been suggested that the record might be extended by making known the fact of its compilation outside the limits of the Society, but the Council feels after due deliberation that the difficulties of ensuring the genuineness of claims to Huguenot descent, not personally vouched for by Fellows of the Society, would be too great to make this course easily practicable.

Owing to the Holborn Restaurant being unable to give us the usual accommodation for our dinners and meetings during the present session, other arrangements had to be made. Unfortunately it was not possible to provide for the dinner and evening meeting at our first meeting in November, which was in consequence held in the afternoon at the Royal Historical Society's rooms in Russell Square. For the subsequent meetings convenient arrangements have been made for the dinners and evening meetings to be held at the Hôtel Russell, and the attendances have been well up to the average of recent years.

Mr. G. B. Beeman, having served the office of President for three years, is in conformity with the Society's By-laws not eligible for re-election to that office for the ensuing session. Upon his retirement the Council takes the opportunity of voicing what it is convinced will be the universal feeling of the Society, by expressing its appreciation of the able and scholarly manner in which Mr. Beeman has discharged the duties of the Chair and maintained the high traditions of the Society throughout his term of office.

In conclusion, the Council desires to express the Society's grateful thanks to the Honorary Officers for the devoted service they have continued to render to it during the past year, namely, to Mr. A. Hervé Browning its Treasurer, to Colonel D. G. Pitcher its Secretary, and to its Auditors, Mr. William Minet and Mr. Harley M. Grellier.

The following alterations in the By-laws, which had been

proposed by the Council in accordance with By-law XVI, were put to the Meeting by the Chairman and declared carried, there being no opposition :

In By-law V, first paragraph, in place of 'The Annual Subscription shall be one guinea,' 'The Annual Subscription shall be one and a half guineas.'

In the last paragraph of the same By-law the following scale of fees for composition for the annual subscriptions to be substituted for that at present in force :

If under the age of 40 . . .	a single payment of 30 guineas
If between the ages of 40 and 50 „ „	22½ „
If between the ages of 50 and 65 „ „	15 „
If over the age of 65 . . . „ „	7½ „

Provided nevertheless in the last case that the Fellow so compounding shall have been a Fellow for not less than five years.

In By-law VII, first paragraph, to strike out the words ' (not exceeding six) ' after ' Vice-Presidents.'

The Ballot was taken for the Officers and Council for the ensuing year, with the following result :

Officers and Council for the year May 1920 to May 1921.

President.—Wyatt Wyatt-Paine, F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents.—The Right Hon. The Earl of Radnor ; George Beaumont Beeman ; Sir James Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I. ; William Minet, F.S.A. ; Sir William Wyndham Portal, Bart., F.S.A. ; Reginald St. Aubyn Roumieu ; Charles Poyntz Stewart, F.S.A.Scot.

Treasurer.—Arthur Hervé Browning.

Honorary Secretary.—Colonel Duncan George Pitcher.

Members of Council.—Richard Arthur Austen-Leigh ; Henry Martyn Cadman-Jones ; The Rev. William George Cazalet ; Robert William Dibdin ; Francis de Havilland Hall, M.D., F.R.C.P. ; E. Sydney Luard ; Robert Alfred McCall, K.C. ; Major Oswald Cecil Magniac ; Lieut.-Col. Sir Alexander Brooke Pechell, Bart., R.A.M.C. ; Samuel Romilly Roget, A.M.Inst.C.E., A.M.I.E.E. ; Francis Oliver Rybot ; Carl Schelling, L.D.S.R.C.S.Eng.

The President then read his Address as follows :

ADDRESS TO THE THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
OF THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON, BY GEORGE
BEAUMONT BEEMAN, PRESIDENT.

DURING the Session which is now closing the Society has held the customary three meetings. At that in November last, Mr. M. Wilkinson read a paper on 'Lamoignon de Bâville's Survey of Languedoc,' which contained very interesting particulars concerning the condition and numbers of the Huguenots in that province, at the close of the seventeenth century. At the January meeting Mr. V. B. Redstone dealt with 'The Dutch and Huguenot Settlements in Ipswich from 1560 to 1720.' I think the Fellows of the Society always enjoy historical reviews dealing with the French Refugees, especially when, as in this case, the reader has consulted local as well as the public records. In March Mr. W. Wyatt-Paine, who, I am glad to say, is our new President, read a valuable essay on 'The Last of the Valois.'

I am sure you all wish to join me in thanking these three gentlemen for the instruction that they have given us.

The Society has been hampered owing to the increased cost of printing, nevertheless, since our last Annual Meeting, we have received Part 1 of Vol. XII, of the *Proceedings*, containing the reports of the transactions of the Society during the Session 1917-18. It is hoped soon to issue Part 2 which deals with the Session 1918-19.

With reference to our quarto Publications, it has been impossible to issue a volume for the past year, but the text of two volumes is all in type, and steady progress is being made with the heavy indices. These volumes contain the Lists of Naturalizations and Denizations in England and Ireland during the eighteenth century as well as the Lists of the Refugees in the American Colonies for the same period. The completion of these volumes has been delayed by the editor's work for the Government, but one volume at least, it is hoped, will be in the hands of the Fellows by the end of the present year.

Progress is being made with the work of transcribing and editing the most important of the still unpublished Registers of the French Churches, and so soon as funds permit they will be placed in the printer's hands.

The Secretary has received nearly 500 returns dealing with the War Services of Fellows or their relatives. These have been sent in response to the circular issued early in this year.

I have now the sad duty of recording the losses by death which the Society has sustained since our last Annual Meeting:

LIEUT.-COL. F. M. MANGIN, R.A.M.C., who died at Meerut on December 31, 1918. He was elected a Fellow in 1904.

WILLIAM JOHN HARDY, F.S.A., who died July 17, 1919. He was elected a Fellow in 1886, but resigned after several years. He was re-elected in 1904. Mr. Hardy served several times on our Council and contributed various papers which will be found in the *Proceedings*.

CHARLES JOHN COSSART, died at the age of 66 on November 23, 1919, at Funchal, where he had lived for many years. He was the Danish Consul at Madeira. He became a Fellow in 1887, and was connected with the families of Cossart (Sieurs de Bosc-Bestre), Fleury and Puchot (Sieurs du Plessis).

GEORGE COURTAULD, died February 29, 1920, in his ninetyeth year. He had been a Fellow since 1887. He was the head of the distinguished Huguenot family of Courtauld, and was also connected with the families of Bardin, Ogier, Potier, Guibaud, and Cagna.

MISS DAMPIER, who died in February of this year, had been a Fellow since 1888. She was a descendant of the Huguenot family of Dampierre.

MRS. JAMES M. LAWTON, who also died in February, took an active and leading part in the organisation of the Huguenot Society of America. She joined this Society in 1895. She was connected with the families of de Peyster, Bayard, Massé, and Poingdextre.

MISS GEORGIANA F. MARTIN, who died on April 10, joined this Society in 1901. She was connected with the famous family of Desaguliers.

It is with deep regret that I have to add to the fore-

going, the name of MRS. FABER, the widow of our late Honorary Secretary. Mrs. Faber died quite suddenly on the 9th of this month (May), of double pneumonia. She had been a Fellow of the Society since 1892, and was a descendant of the Huguenot family of Godde. Mrs. Faber was present at our last meeting and thus showed, to the last, her interest in the Society.

We mourn the loss of these old associates, while we remember with gratitude the help which the Society has received from each one in small or large degree.

It may not be inopportune to call the attention of the Fellows of this Society to the books formerly belonging to the French Church of St. Martin Orgars, which are now deposited at the Guildhall Library.

It will be remembered that the church of St. Martin Orgars was burnt in the Great Fire of London. It was decided not to rebuild it, but to unite the parish with that of St. Clement's, Eastcheap. In 1699 the French congregation which had met at various places in the City of London, obtained a lease of the site of the old church of St. Martin Orgars from the churchwardens of St. Clement's and erected a church. When this congregation ceased about 1823, the books relating to the affairs of the church would seem to have been handed for safe keeping to the authorities of St. Clement's, by whom they were handed, some years ago, to the Guildhall Library.

The following details, supplied to me by Mr. Minet, are based upon a very summary examination of these records.

There are five books of accounts, shewing the offertory receipts and payments to the poor. These are only of slight interest as to details, but afford one more example of the wise principles adopted in the French Churches, in their administration of charity. The best illustration of this method will be found in the paper by Mr. Minet on the 'Poor Fund of the Church of Guînes,' which is contained in an early volume of our *Proceedings*.

Four volumes deal with the allocation of seats in the church and the payments received for them. Other books

have to do with the distribution of the members of the congregation into 'Quartiers,' the boundaries of which are most carefully recorded.

The most important books are those which contain the minutes of the Church meetings from 1701 to 1730. There are two small books and one large volume. The latter is beautifully written. These volumes must form the foundation of any history of this Church which may be written. We have a copy of the lease of the land on which the church was built and full details of the raising of a fund of about 800*l.* for the cost of the building, also copies of much correspondence with the Church of 'La Sairre,' and other churches upon matters which concerned the French congregations in London.

In addition to the manuscripts, there is a printed volume entitled 'Estat de la distribution de la Somme de 12,000*l.* livres accordée par la reine aux pauvres protestants français réfugiés en Angleterre pour l'an 1705.' It was printed in 1707. This book contains a list of the persons receiving assistance, and is especially useful and valuable because it gives in many cases the place of origin, London address, trade, and age of the recipients. This list is divided into two classes: 'Gentil-hommes' and 'Bourgeoisie.' Should our funds permit it seems most certainly desirable that this list should be printed by our Society.

I will now pass on to a matter which has often occurred to me when listening to the historical papers which have been read before this Society.

It has appeared to me that there is a tendency to treat the Huguenot or French Reformed Church as though it were some sudden or local development in the life of the Church Universal. Possibly everyone here, if the question were asked, would say that what is called the Reformation was the logical result of centuries of encroachment upon both civil and religious liberty in all the countries of Europe, but nevertheless I venture to think that this side of the question is often lost to view.

It must not be forgotten that the tyrannous assumption of power by the Roman Church, whether in Church or State, was of very gradual development, and it was not until the

Council of Trent (1545-63) that the Papal teaching was crystallised ; therefore until that time many doctrines, which are now considered purely Protestant, were held by many clergy of all ranks as well as by considerable numbers of the laity. The Gallican Church, while recognising the Pope's spiritual authority, yet for many years refused to submit to the Papal claim of temporal supremacy. Thus in 1682 Bishop Bossuet drew up four propositions which were signed by many of the French bishops. They were :

1. The Pope's jurisdiction is in things spiritual and not in things temporal.
2. The authority of a General Council is at all times superior to that of the Pope.
3. The authority of the Pope is limited by the canons of the Universal Church.
4. The judgment of the Pope is not infallible unless it be confirmed by the whole Church.

In these days all these propositions are heretical, but it shows that at the time when the Huguenots were being driven out of France, opinions were still held by the Gallican Church which have since been declared to be heretical by the Churches which acknowledge the Pope as the Vicar of Christ.

This example will help us to realize that doctrinal questions only arose gradually and that those who were esteemed orthodox in one century would have been considered heretics in the next. Often two contrary doctrines were being taught by those who held ecclesiastical office, so that, to use modern terms, a man could be an extreme sacerdotalist and another man an extreme evangelical, and yet both could find shelter in the outward body of the Church.

It is to be observed, however, that the opposition to the errors, which had been introduced, had increased so considerably that at the end of the fifteenth century there was a multitude of people, in nearly every country of Europe, of all ranks, including bishops and priests, who were so averse to the dogmas and tyranny of Rome that, had Luther and Calvin never lived,

there must have been a movement of that character which is rightly called the Re-formation of the Church.

In order to show more clearly that doctrinal cleavages were of very gradual development, it may be worth while to point out that :

(i) Infant Baptism was by no means universal even in the fourth century. St. Augustine (354–430), Bishop of Hippo, who was born of Christian parents was not baptized until he was over thirty years of age. St. Jerome (331–420), who also had Christian parents, was not baptized until he was over twenty.

(ii) There is no record of any written Prayer Book, or Order of Public Worship or Liturgy, until some time in the fourth century, and it would appear that until the eighth century there were various differing Liturgies even in the same diocese. Gradually a uniform Liturgy was adopted in each diocese and eventually the Roman Missal was generally adopted, but the diocesan use did not entirely cease as we may see from the Preface to the English Common Prayer Book ‘Concerning the Service of the Church,’ where it is said, ‘whereas heretofore there hath been great diversity in saying and singing in Churches within this Realm, some following Salisbury use, some Hereford use, and some the use of Bangor, some of York, some of Lincoln, now from henceforth all the whole Realm shall have but one use.’

(iii) The use of images in churches was introduced very gradually, and naturally the ignorant people began to venerate them or worship them. However, in the ninth century a very strong movement showed itself against this practice. The Bishop of Turin especially ordered that all images were to be taken out of the churches in his diocese and destroyed ; some of the French bishops appear to have followed his example, which brought about a Council of all the French bishops, in which it was decided that images of the saints might be retained in honour of those whom they represented, but the people must not be allowed to venerate them or to say prayers before them.

(iv) The doctrine of Transubstantiation, or the Real Bodily

Presence of Christ in the Sacrament was scarcely heard of until the ninth century, and when it was then advocated it was rejected by nearly all the Gallican Church. As late as the middle of the eleventh century Berenger, Bishop of Angers, led the opposition of many of the French bishops and clergy to the doctrine of the Real Presence.

I have taken only four instances out of many, but they are sufficient to show that the French Reformation was a repudiation of doctrines that had been foisted upon the Church. I now propose to give a very brief sketch of a few points in French Church history, showing the continuity of the protest against the various innovations. The protest against the assumption of power by the Church dignitaries in civil matters does not come within the scope of this address, although it undoubtedly assisted in the Reformation, while at the same time the purely political opposers of Rome often did great injury to the cause of true religion.

The introduction of Christianity into France is alleged to have been the work of St. Denis, which is the Gallicised form of Dionysius, who is identified as the Areopagite mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles. It is curious, however, that no trace of this claim is found until the year 1417. Then this assertion was made by the French bishops in an attempt to prove that the English Church received the knowledge of the Gospel through the French Church, and therefore could not claim any separate existence, but was a portion of the Gallican Church. This claim was immediately countered by the English bishops who boldly stated that the first Christian Missionary to these shores was no other than Joseph of Arimathæa. No serious assertion of either of these claims can be found before this date, two years after the battle of Agincourt, when England was claiming entrance into the comity of nations.

Actually Christianity does not appear in Gaul until the middle of the second century. There are traces of missionary work about the year 150, but the first authentic date is 175, when the surviving members of the Church at Lyons wrote a letter to the Churches in Asia Minor giving an account of the recent persecution, when a number of their brethren had laid

down their lives for the Faith. From this and other circumstances it has been supposed that the first missionaries to Gaul came from Asia Minor, and in this connection it is interesting to remember that the Galatians were a branch of the Celtic race and spoke a similar language to that spoken by the Gallic tribes. Among the names of the Lyons martyrs which have been preserved, about one-third bore Greek names; the rest, with the exception of two or three Gallic names, were Latins. This has given grounds for the assumption that probably the Christian gatherings, which soon after this date are to be found in the larger towns, were probably formed by foreign citizens rather than by the natives of Gaul.

Each of these small gatherings had a minister or bishop, the titles being interchangeable at that time. As the congregations grew, missionary work was undertaken in the districts around, and as other congregations were formed, the bishop of the original Church exercised a sort of oversight over them. In this way the diocesan plan gradually grew. It must not be imagined that in these early days in Gaul there was, in all places, a succession of bishops, for apparently some districts relapsed into paganism, and when Christianity is next found in the neighbourhood, the superintendency may be exercised from quite a different centre. Paganism very largely prevailed in the third century, and as late as the end of the fifth century it was strong in many parts, and predominated in the districts around the head-waters of the Loire, the Saone, and the Seine.

In the second half of the sixth century Aquitaine had only lately accepted the Gospel, and in the seventh and eighth centuries many British missionaries went to the northern part of Gaul and also preached to the Belgic and Frisian tribes. This fact should be noted in connection with the persecutions under the Duke of Alva. Can it be possible that through the teaching of these British missionaries these districts retained a greater attachment to the fundamental principles of the Gospel, and so more readily accepted the Reformation?

Harking back for a moment to the fifth century, there had been a relapse in many districts and the advocates of paganism

urged that all the evils of the times were due to Christianity. The seminaries and schools at Bordeaux, Arles, Lyons, and Autun, in which were educated the sons of the nobles, were heathen in sentiment if not altogether heathen, and their influence far out-weighed the simple instruction which a minister would give to his flock. Thus as evidence of the decay of outward Christianity we find it stated at this time: 'The passion for amusement has destroyed the spirit of religion. The churches of God are forsaken while the circuses are crammed with sightseers. Men love the gibes of the actor more than the Word of God.'

The organisation of the Church was still very simple and it could not be otherwise in these turbulent times. The arrogant claim to absolute dominion over men's souls and pretensions to a right to interfere in civil matters were still unknown to the simple-minded bishops of the seventh century.

It may be urged that before this time there were men in Gaul who are recognised as eminent in Church history, and from this it may be argued that the Church must have held a far more important position in Gaul than is shown by this brief summary. To this it must be replied in the words of the homely proverb, 'That one or even several swallows do not make a summer,' and truth demands that it should be acknowledged that many of these men, whose names may be familiar, have only become celebrated owing to accidental circumstances. The early Church in Gaul suffered not only from almost continuous wars which desolated the country, but also from the inroads of false teachers who sympathised with the doctrines of Arius and Pelagius, and it was under the influence of St. Augustine that it was settled upon a doctrinal basis which in its logical result, after many vicissitudes, brought about the Reformation. It is to be noted that those doctrines which are specially considered to be distinctive of the French Reformed Church are those which the Gallican Church most strongly held and maintained for many centuries, and never entirely forgot, and they are those which St. Augustine urged upon the Church when the appeal was made to him for assistance against the Arians and other heretics.

Unfortunately we find more attention given, in ecclesiastical history, to the errors and evils which gradually permeated the Church, than to the progress of true piety. St. Paul wrote to Timothy, 'Charge them not to strive about words to no profit,' but this was soon forgotten and those who should have been leaders of the Church strove about words until what began as a mistake often developed into a heresy.

It has been well said that ecclesiastical history is the Newgate Calendar of the Church, and so we find much more attention paid to the quarrels and crimes of so-called learned leaders of the Church than to those who quietly held fast the faith. Often we have little true history but are, figuratively, almost deafened by the cries of rival heretical partisans, while we are searching for the traces of the humble followers of the Saviour.

Usually our only guide is a stray reference when the faithful witness to the Truth, by an individual or a Church, has called forth the wrath of a corrupt and dominant party in the outward organisation of the Church. Then, as now, the true ministers were more interested in the spiritual welfare of their congregations than in heresy-promoting or heresy-hunting and therefore they were not considered worthy of notice or else we only meet with them in the records of their oppressors.

From the end of the fifth century to the end of the tenth century ignorance and superstition increased as learning decreased all over Europe, with the exception of England, where learning was more esteemed and superstition more resisted than elsewhere, and so we find continually that Englishmen greatly assisted those in France who from time to time protested against the prevailing superstition and urged a reformation in the Church. Thus a witness to the Truth was maintained notwithstanding the mists of error which seemed to drift like a miasma over Europe, and from time to time as the darkness of the fog became less, we have a momentary view of that pure stream of faith which was ever flowing on with gathering force until it became a mighty river of faith and hope which we call the Reformation.

During this period of spiritual declension the bringers-in of

false doctrine gradually obtained a predominant position, and in turn we find them recording their extermination of the Paulicians, the Albigenses, the Waldenses, and the Huguenots, but though in each case it was claimed that the country had been purged from the 'heretics,' yet the Faith, though persecuted, was never destroyed, and in many a country town or village the rector, though nominally a Romish priest, or in other cases laymen, taught the people the simple Gospel, and so the Faith was preserved.

During the seventh century, owing to the prevalence of superstition, a considerable number of people with their ministers went from Italy and France into the Valleys of Piedmont and Dauphiny and from them are descended the Vaudois. The Vaudois claim as their spiritual father St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, the friend of St. Augustine, and there are many reasons for believing that this is correct. In the following centuries we find traces of congregations both in France and Italy which maintained an intercourse with these Vaudois.

In the eighth century we first hear of the Paulicians and in the following century they became prominent. The only records we have of them are in the accounts given by their adversaries. It is therefore difficult to say exactly what their sentiments were, especially as it would seem that to cast reproach upon those who professed evangelical sentiments, their enemies included under this name some who undoubtedly held erroneous opinions as well as atheists and what would now be called socialists. After sifting the extraordinary allegations made by various writers, it appears that there were many congregations in the northern parts of Italy and in Provence who maintained :

- (i.) That there was only one ministerial office, that of the presbyter, although they recognised superintendents or bishops.
- (ii.) That the government of the Church should be jointly exercised by the laity and clergy.
- (iii.) That the Scriptures should be constantly studied

by all Christian people and that nothing was to be believed but what could be proved thereby.

(iv.) They refused to venerate the Virgin Mary.

(v.) They refused to worship the Cross or any image.

The congregations in France and Italy appear to have had some connection with the Vaudois either by having a common origin or some sort of affiliation. It is to be noted that there were similar congregations in England.

In the tenth century these people seem to have increased considerably in numbers and gradually merged into the Albigenses, who in due time were absorbed by the Waldenses. In the eleventh century there is reason to believe that owing to Hildebrand insisting on the celibacy of the clergy, some of the married clergy joined the Albigenses. In the twelfth century, Peter Waldo encouraged Stephen d'Evisa to translate parts or all of the Scriptures into French, and many copies were made and distributed. Many preachers were trained under the direction of Evisa and they then travelled far and wide instructing the people. Their adherents were called Waldenses. They were noted for their

Opposition to the supremacy of the Pope,

Opposition to the sale of indulgences,

Opposition to auricular confession,

Opposition to prayers for the dead ;

while their positive belief was similar to that of the Paulicians. One of their bitterest enemies says that of all sects that ever were, none were so pernicious to the Church of Rome as the Waldenses, for these reasons :

1. Their antiquity and long continuance even from the year 316.
2. The universality of the sect, because there was scarcely any country where they were not.
3. They have a great appearance of piety, because they live justly before men, believing all things well of God, and had all the articles of the Creed, only they blasphemed the Church and clergy of Rome.

The Waldenses were most numerous in Lombardy, Dauphiny, Languedoc and Provence, although there were many adherents along the valley of the Rhine and especially around Mayenz.

In the thirteenth century the Waldenses had increased in numbers to such an extent as to cause much alarm to the Papal authorities. The Pope ordered that they should be extirpated. He entrusted to Dominic and his friars the duty of examining all persons accused of heresy. Thus was founded the famous Inquisition.

In the fourteenth century the persecution of the Waldenses continued with unrelenting ferocity, but though every effort was made to extirpate this 'sect,' yet there were many who still gathered for worship and mutual encouragement in secret meetings. At this time we first hear of 'The Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit,' in Italy, Germany and France, especially in Flanders. They appear to have been a branch or offshoot of the Waldenses. Of them it is said: 'This people professed an uncommon sort of devotion, endeavouring to call men's minds away from the external parts of religion and to win them over to the inward and spiritual worship of God.'

In the latter part of this century Wyclif's writings were largely circulated in France and exerted a considerable influence. In the fifteenth century the fall of Constantinople resulted in the dispersal of many learned Greeks throughout Europe, and promoted the revival of learning. In France as elsewhere, the study of the Greek Testament resulted in convincing many, both clergy and laity, of the falsity of the doctrines which had been forced upon the Church and created that opposition to the Roman dogmas which prepared the way for the Reformation.

Many people speak as though Calvin was the originator of the revival of true religion in France. The Reformation in France had made considerable progress before he gave his adherence to it. What is true is that Calvin gave shape to the Re-formed Church. This he did when he issued his 'Institutes of the Christian Religion' which was immediately adopted as a standard work. In the main the

doctrines which he insisted upon are those which St. Augustine taught and urged upon the Gallican Church, which that Church professed to maintain for several centuries, and which were held in turn by the Paulicians, Albigenses, and Waldenses.

I hope in this brief sketch I have shown that there was a succession of Apostolic doctrine in France from its first introduction until the time of the Huguenots, and that the French Reformed Church was the natural result of a continuous witness for the simple truths of the Gospel.

In conclusion I thank you all for the extremely kind way in which you have supported me during the three years in which I have had the honour to be the President of the Society, and now have the pleasure to ask Mr. Wyatt-Paine to occupy the Presidential Chair.

Survey of Languedoc in 1698

by Lamoignon de Bâville, Intendant of the
two généralités of Toulouse and Montpellier.

By MAURICE WILKINSON, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

THE whole province is usually divided into Haut and Bas Languedoc, which division practically amounts to East and West. It was in Bas Languedoc that the great majority of Huguenots were to be found and have continued subsequently to the Revocation of the Edict until the present day ; in Haut Languedoc they were never numerous.

Bâville describes the inhabitants in general as sober and thrifty, not given to any superfluous expenses but engaging in their manners to strangers. They are ardent in pursuit of what they desire, but not over-grateful when they have obtained it. The author, as will be seen later on, qualifies this statement in connection with his more detailed account of the dioceses. At the present time, this generalisation might still apply to the more retired districts, but would certainly not be applicable to the larger towns. There is much wealth at Nîmes, Montpellier, Toulouse, etc., and a corresponding amount of *superfluous expense*. The inhabitants of Languedoc, with the great exception of Toulouse, are not especially intellectual, and in general the province compares unfavourably with Provence.

We will consider Bâville's merits and demerits at the end of this paper, but it must be recollected that, *qua* Intendant, he was incorruptible, enlightened and energetic ; his methods of encouraging commerce and his efforts to establish a satisfactory financial system were beyond all praise, and the justice and order maintained in the province were excellent.

We are informed that Haut Languedoc contained eleven and

Bas Languedoc twelve dioceses. In these there were 24,760 ecclesiastical persons, of whom 5625 were religious, including 2865 men in 226 convents and 2407 women in 98 convents, the rest of the 24,760 being secular. The total revenue of the Church was about 2,541,852*l*.¹ In spite, then, of the prevalence of reformed views in many parts of the province it is clear that in it the Church was wealthy and powerful. The Intendant proceeds to the other privileged order and has no very high opinion of many of the nobility; for he complains of the facility with which letters of *annoblissement* are granted '*d des familles dont on connoit la base extraction. Ce mélange la déshonore.*' With few exceptions their power must have been slight, for out of the 4486 noble families, not more than fifteen had an income of over 20,000*l*. a year and many came nowhere near to that figure. Probably nearly half of the exemptions of noblesse would have been disallowed if the Intendant had been free to act; for, unlike most modern officials or bureaucrats—for Louis's government was a vast bureaucracy—Bâville regarded economy in finance as the '*but et le terme du gouvernement.*'

Toulouse was the capital and seat of the parlement which had these chambers: Grande Chambre, Tournelle, three chambres des Enquêtes and one des Requêtes. Before the Revocation there existed a chambre de l'Edit, established first at Toulouse, then transferred to Castres, and finally, until its suppression, to Castelnaudary. There was a famous university, founded in the thirteenth century, with the same privileges as that of Paris.

The people gave themselves up mainly to official and intellectual pursuits, so Bâville has not much to say about its commerce. The people were very anti-foreign, nothing at all unusual in any Frenchman, and good Catholics. It has not much changed in character. Toulouse is the most intellectual town of Languedoc and has indeed produced as many famous men as any other town with the sole exception of Paris.

The droit Romain or écrit is alone followed in Languedoc, though it is certain that the Goths utterly abolished it under

¹ Throughout this article, *l*. = *livres tournois*.

their rule, for the Gothic customary law alone ran for over five centuries. So utterly forgotten was all Roman law that in the twelfth century Azzo of Piacenza and other doctors of law had to renew its dissemination under the name of Florentine Pandects. Some fiefs in the next century were brought under the customary law of Paris by Simon de Montfort. Before the Albigeois Crusade the Kings of France owned nothing in the province. Their first title was the ownership of the Albigeois, Carcassonne, and Béziers which had been ceded to the crown of France by Amaury de Montfort in 1223. In Languedoc were thirteen *gouvernements militaires* under the nominal command of the Duc du Maine. The most important as shown by the pay attached to the post were Montpellier held by the Marquis de Castries, 23,000*l.*; Aigues Mortes, of melancholy fame, by the M. de Bufe, 17,500*l.*; Pont St. Esprit, by the Comte de Rouvre, 9600*l.*; Nîmes, by the Marquis de Sandricourt, 9000*l.* The rest were of less value including Roquemaure which was held by the notorious Julien. The Marshal de Noailles took charge of the province during the duke's minority. For marine purposes Languedoc was unimportant and its galleys were attached to the Provençal harbours.

It would serve no purpose to give the details of each diocese, apart from those directly connected with the history of the religious troubles, but we will take one, Carcassonne, as a specimen of Bâville's method. He wrote:

'It is an instance of what industry can do for a people, for the inhabitants are well off, although the produce of their territory is insufficient for their needs. The town is one great emporium of the wool trade. Nature equalises her gifts; where there is great fertility of soil and a genial climate there the folk do not do much, but where the soil is sterile and the climate unkindly there the people are keen and enterprising. A fairly true generalisation. *Nécessité mère des arts.*'

Bâville returns again and again to this conception. At times we are almost led to suppose that Bâville would really like people to deprive themselves of their natural possessions,

and count only upon agriculture and industry for the means of life.

Albi once one of the best dioceses of the kingdom was now one of the poorest ; it was partly ruined by the plague of 1693, but chiefly by excessive taxation.

Montpellier, to which name Bâville gives the absurd derivation of *Mons puellarum*, is not very ancient, and in fact the town grew up after the destruction of Maguelonne. The churches were very fine before the religious troubles when they were practically all destroyed.

The diocese of *Mende*, 173 parishes, consists of the Haut and Bas Gevaudan, and is nearly all mountain. It is very sterile and would be very sparsely inhabited if Providence had not given many talents for commerce to the inhabitants. At the time of the survey there were of the gentils-hommes 162 Catholics and 14 nouveaux convertis ; of non-nobles 128,300 Catholics and 18,189 nouveaux convertis. This district was the centre of the outrages perpetrated during the Camisard rising a few years later and in it is the famous Pont de Montvert.

The diocese of *Alais* occupies the Basses Cevennes and contains ninety-one parishes. It is mainly mountainous, but parts are well cultivated and the lower slopes and valleys are even rich. The chestnuts afford a great means of subsistence to the country folk, a fact which unfortunately renders the task of weeding out the disaffected more difficult. The bishopric only dates from 1694. Alais is rich in the manufacture of serge and other stuffs. Even after the losses in recent years caused by the dragoons *pour opérer salutairement leur conversion* it is still the richest canton of the province, a further proof of the utility of commerce. The inhabitants are all well clothed, and there are no beggars, but they are of *mauvaise foi* and bad religion ; it is to be feared that they remain good Huguenots but bad Catholics or nouveaux convertis. The inhabitants of the Cevennes are light and susceptible to all impressions, but they return or are easily led back to the path which they have left. In this diocese are 117 Catholic gentils-hommes, 96 nouveaux convertis, 30,390 Catholic roturiers,

and 41,766 nouveaux convertis. This is the only diocese in which the nouveaux convertis were actually in a majority. With this diocese is associated that of *Viviers*. The inhabitants of the Vivarais are slow to make up their minds, but they are very difficult to move when once that is done. This fact renders a rising to be feared in the Vivarais more than elsewhere, but the people are naturally solid and should be encouraged to join the royal army. It was in fact these people who gave the most trouble in the subsequent rising, though the actual scene of their exploits was in the two preceding dioceses.

Nîmes is the most flourishing and commercial town of all Languedoc. The people are capable and enterprising and of a naturally industrious temperament. Whatever happens Nîmes must be kept as the chief entrepôt of the province. The religionnaires called the country by the name of the *Little Canaan*; either because of the facilities for their misguided superstition or more probably owing to what they imagined to be the similarity in the products of the two countries. In it are 212 Catholic gentilshommes, 59 nouveaux convertis, 40,720 Catholic roturiers, 39,665 nouveaux convertis. In many parts before the Revocation there were few and in some districts no Catholics. These figures for Alais and Nîmes are specially interesting for they prove, even if Bâville did not honestly admit the fact, that the Protestants in these two dioceses must at their zenith have been in a great majority. The argument with which Louis was plied—that his Protestant subjects were a negligible quantity and that all that were of real value amongst them had long been converted—is plainly untrue as regards this particular district. Doubtless such was the case in many parts of France and, as we shall see later, in much of Languedoc. All this prosperity seemed likely to be menaced by the re-establishment of Catholicism, but the Intendant surmounted this danger and commerce was never more flourishing. The merchants, if bad Catholics, are good men of business, and indeed it is tragical to observe that the nouveaux convertis are generally more industrious and prosperous than the original Catholics.

The diocese of *Montauban*, recorded by Bâville in his lists, is interesting as disclosing the small numbers of the nouveaux convertis in their erstwhile stronghold. Catholic gentils-hommes, 62; nouveaux convertis, nil; Catholic roturiers, 34,396; nouveaux convertis, 1240. It is not described in the survey, but is summarised by its own Intendant; for Montauban, though geographically and administratively in Languedoc, was a separate généralité. However, the Intendant tells us that it owed its importance to the religionnaires who fortified it; that the Duke of Mayenne, the son of the Leaguer, was killed during an attack upon the town, and that its fortifications were razed in 1629. There were about 28,000 inhabitants. At its zenith the Huguenots flocked to it from all sides. In some of the cantons the Catholics were much persecuted. There were thirty-three temples in the généralité, but during the glorious régime of the King all have been destroyed and Calvinism and heresy totally abolished. The revenues of the consistories were given to the local hospitals, following the ordinary procedure in Languedoc.

The total export and import commerce of Languedoc amounted to 24,070,000*l*. The chief exports were woollen goods, wines and spirits, silks, ribbons, tanned goods, and olive oil. Imports of the greatest value consisted of sheep and cattle, raw wool from Spain and the Levant, and linen goods.

Bâville doubted whether the province could support such taxations as had recently been levied without injury to its trade and industries. He further remarked that the need was not for fresh regulations, but rather the abolition of most of those which existed, for freedom of exchange is the most essential thing for the encouragement of commerce. His seven points for the improving of trade and the financial situation are very interesting, but would only be of remote interest to the readers of this paper.

There are three matters in particular for which the Intendant claimed credit, and rightly, for all were partly due to his untiring activity: the preservation of the Maison Carrée and other antiquities in Southern Gaul, the Canal du Jonction des Mers, and the roads. The great road of the

province paved in stone runs from Pont St. Esprit to Toulouse, a distance of fifty-five leagues; from the road branch off numerous side tracks all well maintained. The Canton of the Cevennes was previously devoid of practicable roads; but Bâville thought this to be so essential a work that he spared nothing to achieve it. Places formerly regarded as well-nigh inaccessible were made as easy of access as most parts of the plain.

The canal of the junction of the seas, or du Midi, as it is now usually called, though not inaugurated in his intendency, was carried out in its most difficult part and opened during his office. It was, of course, a wonderful piece of engineering and remains so. Forty leagues in length it connects Cette with Toulouse. Its highest point is near Castelnau-dary, and it is carried over rivers and goes through cuttings and even tunnels. It cost 13,000,000*l*.

We must now turn to the Huguenots' numbers, or nouveaux convertis as they are always called, for the Revocation was officially known as the Conversion Générale. The total number of nouveaux convertis was 198,493 non-noble and 440 noble; these were spread over the various dioceses in very unequal numbers. In those of Castres, Montpellier, Nîmes, Alais, Uzès, Viviers, and Mende they were numerous. In the dioceses of Toulouse, Albi, Montauban, Lavaur, Mirepoix, Rieux, St. Pons, Lodève, Béziers, Agde, and Le Puy they were, in comparison with the population, negligible; for instance, the largest proportion was to be found at Béziers, 2515 against 63,087. For the dioceses of St. Papoul, Comminges, Aleth, Carcassonne, and Narbonne there are no returns of nouveaux convertis, but it is certain that there must have been a small number of them. In the case of Nîmes and Alais alone are the numbers of the nouveaux convertis anything like equal with the Catholics. In Alais indeed they are in a majority, 41,766 against 30,390, and in Nîmes they have a virtual equality, 39,664 against 41,720. In Montpellier, where they were next most numerous, 10,348 against 20,674, that is to say half. Of the 440 families of gentilshommes 109 may be regarded as extinct, and speaking generally have no great *merit*, save

in the case of the Marquis of Malauze. Bâville seems to imply *prestige* in his use of the word *merit*, for he says again none possess sufficient *merit* to become recognised or effective leaders in a possible revolt. The merchants, it is true, are rich and influential, but their influence is confined to the large towns where people have little chance of causing trouble, and, as a class, merchants do not care to adventure their money. These Huguenots hesitated for some time between their attachment to their faith and their business; their material interests prevailed in most cases, for the vast majority remained. They were in fact forbidden to leave France, but some 4000 passed into foreign lands of whom some 600 subsequently returned. Bâville was under no delusions as to the value of their conversion. In the wild and rude parts very few even profess to have abandoned their errors, and in the towns, though prudence impels them to conform outwardly, it is to be feared that in their hearts and their homes they hold to their heresy. There remains a certain proportion who doubtless accept the faith whole-heartedly. We shall probably not be much in error if we guess that the real conversions amongst the nouveaux convertis were few; and of these in the next generation their families were formal Catholics and in the succeeding generation actually became so. This seems probable from the small number of Huguenots which existed towards the close of the following century when freedom of conscience was practically allowed.

In past days it was difficult for any body, even if far more numerous than these Southern Huguenots, to resist indefinitely the pressure of the central government. Let us notice, for example, the triumph of Elizabeth's system in England. It is clear that within two generations or so the vast mass of the English did conform, but it is certain that the new opinions were very coldly received in most parts of the country, and in some, the north and west, had great difficulty in making good their footing. Catholicism was destroyed by the Royal power in England as was Huguenotism in France, the method in both cases being detestable.

In order to frustrate any hopes which the Huguenots might

entertain of rising successfully (for when this survey was drawn up the Camisard troubles were brewing), Bâville relied upon four repressive measures :

1. The construction of good roads practicable for cavalry and guns in the mountainous region of the Cevennes. This was to teach them that no place is inaccessible to authority. Moreover the people themselves in many cases will have to work on the roads. This was simply the ordinary *corvée* which could be so arranged as to press more heavily on the disaffected. In theory the *corvée* is not extinct in France at the present day.

2. To mobilise the militia of old Catholics, this applied chiefly to the towns. Reviews and manœuvres were to be held annually to impress the nouveaux convertis. Bâville speaks of eight regiments of militia well found and ordered. They were not in reality very efficient, and later on both the Intendant and Villars had no high opinion of their methods.

3. Forts were to be constructed at the entrance to the mountainous regions at Nîmes, Alais, and St. Hyppolite.

4. Blockhouses or fortified posts were to be erected at strategical points in the interior of the country.

There were four other measures of a more spiritual and suitable nature :

1. Special schools were to be established in the considerable places for boys and girls. The idea was common to all the authorities that the elder generation was hopeless, but great expectations were centred on the next.

2. Good curés must be appointed to replace unsatisfactory ones ; these must not only be above suspicion in their lives but also talented preachers and theologians who would discourse on the gospels ; such appeals to the nouveaux convertis were more effective than anything else.

3. Missions the Intendant thought useless, their effect is fleeting and the missionaries are too often vulgar and rely too much on the external and emotional side of the Faith ; whereas the good curé gets to know the people and so obtains insensibly a hold upon them.

4. The sacrilege of forcing the nouveaux convertis to

confession and communion which has been common must be stopped. On this matter all the best of the clergy are agreed. Bâville himself was in favour of their forcible attendance at Mass, and some of the bishops gave this view their very qualified support.

These four measures were unexceptionable and did in fact produce satisfactory results. They were the practice certainly of the excellent Fléchier, whom Louis XIV with true instinct removed from Lavaur to Nîmes, and he may have been Bâville's inspiration, although the relations between the bishop and the Intendant were not intimate.

Fléchier, to praise whom is superfluous, was very sensible of the troubles of the Huguenots and indulgent to their errors, but he inclined to severity in the case of the leaders of a later rising, whom he justly called fanatics. The fanatics held secret meetings and had numerous prophetesses in their ranks. They combined so much blasphemy and immorality that it goes far to explain the rigour of the authorities, Churchmen and officials alike, with regard to the leaders. Like the earlier Albigeois their views were incompatible with social order. Fléchier distributed large sums to the people irrespective of their religion during the famine, and practically kept all the hospitals going; above all he was famous for enlightened zeal and the enemy of all doubtful devotions which, even when pious, were unessential and might excite the ridicule of the Huguenots and perhaps compromise the majesty of the Catholic faith. Notable was his refusal to allow a fraternity of penitents to be formed in his diocese. Penitence is a necessity, said Fléchier, but the name of penitent is nothing: he also remarked that the leader of this movement had *à la vérité beaucoup de besoin de pénitence*.

The Bishop of St. Pons wrote to the Intendant and officials in strong condemnation of the enforced Communion.

On this subject the correspondence of Mme. de Maintenon with the Archbishop of Paris, de Noailles, is interesting (August 1699), and from its tenour it is evident Mme. de Maintenon was afraid of the Archbishop of Paris falling into the King's displeasure. Noailles was a man who possessed every virtue

and most other great qualities, but he inclined to a certain obstinacy coupled with weakness. This trait is by no means incompatible with an affectionate and placable nature. He frequently had to recede from positions into which he had imprudently advanced, and unfortunately ended by discontenting everyone. The Archbishop of Reims,¹ a man spiritually much inferior to many prelates who desired to use force to the nouveaux convertis, seems to have found the *mot juste* when he speaks of the *mauvais* convertis.

Villars, when he rather unwillingly took over the command from Montrevel (1705), for this work could not be congenial to so brave and distinguished a soldier, met the Intendant at Beaucaire, and as he expressly tells us that he did nothing without consulting Bâville, it follows that Villars's moderate régime was certainly approved and perhaps, to some extent, suggested by the Intendant. Bâville told him that the people are like nothing else—'vifs, turbulents, susceptibles d'impressions légères comme profondes, tenaces dans ses opinions. Joignez à cela le zèle de la religion, aussi ardent chez les Catholiques que chez les hérétiques, et vous ne serez pas surpris que nous soyons souvent très embarrassés.' He further enumerated three sorts of actively seditious Huguenots :

1. Those who are mainly led by family traditions and incited by the *fanatiques*. These realise that they cannot finally succeed and are generally weary of strife. With these we can make an accommodation.

2. True *fanatiques*, not necessarily criminal, who are yet absolutely intractable in the matter of religion and who believe in the inspiration of the most common and abject people. On these the death penalty makes no impression nor is it necessarily desirable to inflict it.

3. People without any sign of religion given up to brigandage, murder and theft ; amongst their numbers were many debauched and many prophetesses. It is towards these that Fléchier urged severity.

¹ Maurice le Tellier.

Amongst the Catholics there were also three categories :

1. The extremely zealous who scent danger to religion in every relaxation of rigour towards the heretics.

2. Those who deplore heresy without desiring any actual harm to the heretics.

3. Greedy men who, finding themselves on the stronger side, look upon the goods of the heretics and even of the nouveaux convertis as their lawful prey. These do not possess the slightest trace of Christian charity and regard the negative end of destruction as their sole duty. The Intendant and Villars more than suspected that many of this kind were intentionally making matters worse so as to prolong the troubles in their own interest. Much of the proffered advice it was found advisable to distrust ; for the greater part was dictated by hatred and avarice and a very small residuum by a real desire to improve the situation. Villars continues : ' Therefore with the consent and advice of Bâville I pursued rebels and those found with arms in their hands *à outrance*, but those who surrendered I allowed to retire with their goods and remain under the bail of trustworthy Catholics ; but in no case did I hold out any hope of their religion.' In the case of Cavalier, Villars still further relaxed the conditions to the annoyance of the Intendant. This programme was communicated to the bishops of the dioceses and Villars discoursed on this subject before the bishops of Nîmes and Alais and both said it was excellent. In the case of one Mandragors and his propheticess, Bâville and the two bishops showed a remarkable degree of moderation : doubtless they were regarded as mad, as they certainly were, but according to the ideas of the time, a violent end would ordinarily have been in store for them. The man was released with a warning, and the woman sent to an institution from which she was released by the Bishop of Alais at the end of a year, and, having lost her delusions, settled down to ordinary life. The Intendant like many other men was not, however, consistent. He utterly refused the plan of Julien (who was a convert from Orange) for the total extirpation of the Huguenots and the destruction of every place which seemed disaffected ; but the instructions (1586) for the Marquis

de la Trousse, which if not given must have been accepted by Bâville, fully authorised the system of dragonnades. It is true he ordered that, apart from *incommodité*, nothing was to be done to households nor any requisition to be made beyond bed, fire and lighting. The trooper was enjoined to live by his pay; but the probable behaviour of the rough troopers in the houses where they were quartered must have been connived at by the authorities, and only in exceptionally outrageous cases were the authors punished. The Marquis de la Trousse, St. Ruth, de Tessé all acted as brigands rather than as officers of regular troops. Montrevel was almost as bad; though, except in Languedoc, his career is not dishonourable. He was a rough and amazingly ignorant soldier. His predecessor in military command, the Count of Broglie, Bâville's brother-in-law (1688-1703), a fussy and incapable man, entirely under the Intendant's thumb, was responsible for a good deal of cruelty for which Bâville must bear the odium. He was, however, of a different nature from those mentioned above. Villars alone showed any real consideration, and he was of course by far the most distinguished of French soldiers. It seems probable that Bâville's own views had altered between 1688 and 1705. During the last years of the century, Bâville obtained an arrêt of the Council which attributed to him the cognisance *de tous les crimes relatifs au soulèvement avec le pouvoir de mettre tels juges qu'il trouveroit à propos pour faire et parfaire le procès aux prévenus et les juger en dernier ressort*. This certainly tended to uniformity of procedure, and Bâville, who had a judicial mind, was preferable to many other possible judges; though it clearly shows that he was responsible for all sentences other than those decreed by purely military authority. The Estates of Languedoc ordered the levy of thirty companies of fusiliers and a regiment of dragoons, to which latter was given the name of the province. The Intendant also brought a *bataillon de vaisseau* which was in winter quarters at Toulon into the dioceses of Nîmes and Alais and a regiment of dragoons of St. Cernin and an Irish regiment and many levies of *miquelets* from Roussillon, suitable for mountain warfare.

If we turn to the archives of the town of Nîmes (Series TT, fol. 130) we learn more clearly the kind of measures which Bâville enforced, and they form a useful supplement to his survey ; but it must be remembered that, with rare exceptions, these orders emanated from the Conseil d'Etat or from the parlement of Toulouse. The Intendant, doubtless, had some latitude allowed him in the case of the parlement, but in the case of the council he was bound to carry out orders or resign.

1685. The noblesse *hauts justiciers* of the reformed religion are forbidden the exercise of their worship in their own châteaux. Interference in the family circle of a noble having both justices was then a very extreme measure. And as further examples of Bâville's methods it was arranged :

Id. That the sick of the reformed religion were to be taken into the Catholic hospitals.

Id. That a census be taken of the reformed in every house where there were members of the family over fifteen (boys that is) in order that troops might be introduced.

Id. That the consuls of all the communes should arrest foreign Protestants within their borders. Bâville was specially severe on foreign interference in the affairs of the province.

In 1686 an *arrêt* of the Conseil d'Etat ordained that Protestant parents should have their children baptised in Catholic churches, and should send them to the curés for instruction under threat of punishment.

Id. Bâville further ordered a list of those Protestants who were suspected of having fled abroad for the sake of religion to be drawn up. Three hundred and one names are given, amongst them that of de Vignoles. This was obviously a negative sort of measure.

In the same year was published a Declaration of the King, punishing with death all ministers who should return to France, with 5000*l.* reward to anyone who would denounce them. It is to be remembered that just as the pursuit of the pastors was more close in France, so in England at the same period the persecution of priests was more searching. In both countries the non-conforming laity were better off. A further Royal ordinance enacted that the ecclesiastics sent by the

King to Nîmes for the instruction of the youth should be put into possession of the schools, and that the property of the Consistories, ministers and fugitives be handed over to the said schools or hospitals.

In 1689 were issued orders of the Count of Broglie strictly to prohibit assemblies of the reformed.

An interesting item is the offer by the Duke of Berwick of 1000*l.* to whoever may capture Catinat. Also of interest, though wholly unconnected with our subject, are regulations by the Marquis of Montcalm, lieutenant-general of the police, who was none other than the grandfather of the hero of Quebec.

There are records, from the pacification of Languedoc right up to 1756, of a long series of harsh punishments, death and the galleys, for taking part in the forbidden worship, but much of this is long after Bâville's day.

We must now briefly estimate Bâville's character and also in few words give an account of his family and its history.

Nicholas de Lamoignon de Bâville was the son of an extremely distinguished legist, premier président of the parlement of Paris. His brother Chrétien was avocat général and finally also premier président and a great friend of the most brilliant men of letters. They belonged to an old family of the Nivernais in the heart of France. All were incorruptible and studious, well meaning and indulgent masters, good husbands and sons, and the friends of their children, a trait rare in those days. Fléchier's tribute in one of his *oraisons funèbres* is well known. One became illustrious as Malesherbes and at the Terror the family became *émigrés*; one lost his life at Quiberon; another, Viscount Chrétien de Lamoignon, survived that fight and lived to be a peer of France after the Restoration.

Our Bâville was born in 1648. He held the Intendancies of Montauban, Pau, Poitiers, and then the two généralités of Toulouse and Montpellier. He occupied his post from 1685 for thirty-three years. Rulhières in his *Eclaircissements* says: *Bâville passait pour doux et modéré*, and regards him as employing threats of violence rather than active persecution.

Ses mesures consistaient à employer la terreur plus que les supplices. He made himself out to be more severe than he really was for Louvois's benefit. D'Agnesseau who knew him said : *Il était partisan des voies de l'autorité et voulut toujours faire la conquête.* This is borne out by one of St.-Simon's wonderful word-portraits : 'Bâville était un beau génie, un esprit supérieur, très éclairé, très actif, très laborieux. C'était un homme rusé, artificieux, implacable, qui savait aussi parfaitement servir ses amis et se faire des créatures : un esprit surtout de domination qui brisait toute résistance et à qui rien ne coûtait parcequ'il n'était arrêté par rien sur les moyens.' The caustic duke, whose hatred of the bureaucracy of the day coloured all his marvellous character sketches of the men who served it, is probably very accurate in his estimate of Bâville. The affairs of Languedoc were very well administered and very orderly during Bâville's régime, and as to his tireless activity and lynx-eyed detection of irregularities there can be no doubt. His survey of Languedoc is a monument of industry and a testimonial to his integrity, for nothing is kept back although he knew that it must come under the eyes of Louis. His intimate connection with Louvois, who certainly inspired some of the worse features of the Revocation, made his acts towards the Huguenots more or less suspect. Above all he was devoted to the King's service and we can realise what that meant. Moreover Bâville was not free from that inclination to persecute which seemed at the period to disfigure the choicest spirits—Bossuet, Le Tellier (not Maurice), La Chaise, and even to a slight degree Fléchier and Fénelon ; yet few would dispute the essential excellence of the first three of these men and the sanctity of the last two. Bâville had all the virtues and all the defects of his century and, to put the matter in a few lines, he appears to have been an efficient, incorruptible and laborious bureaucrat of good birth, unlike many of his colleagues, and also a man of culture and education. To him we owe the preservation of the Maison Carrée and the existence of the archives of Languedoc, he was a man too in many ways with ideas in advance of his times. He indeed perpetrated when all is said some very cruel acts, but so did

the chivalrous Villars and the no less chivalrous Dundee, as did many other excellent men ; but he was negatively rather than actively cruel. His private life was everything that was excellent. To inquire why he was so severe on the unhappy recalcitrant reformed is useless. Why was so respectable a judge as Scroggs so barbarous to the unhappy Catholics ? It is a strange irony of history that only the sufferings, and they are not to be disputed, of Protestants are usually recorded in books, at any rate in those which are most accessible. Bâville had the choice of either enforcing the law or resigning the intendancy ; the same choice lay before Scroggs. We have seen that Bâville was willing to modify the instructions up to a certain point : but it is abundantly clear that he regarded the views of the reformed as so pernicious that, though he might have preferred not to persecute actively, he did not regard them as worthy of much consideration. In one letter to his brother he writes, *I have never been a partisan of the Revocation*. This is amazing, and yet in a private letter he may well have expressed his real opinion. On the other hand, many will administer laws of which they do not approve. Bâville retired from Languedoc in 1718 and died in Paris in 1724. It is his misfortune that his eminent merits as Intendant have been forgotten, whilst his reputation as a persecutor has survived.

The Dutch and Huguenot Settlements of Ipswich.

By VINCENT B. REDSTONE, F.R.HIST.S.

WHEN making an investigation into the cause of immigrations into any area, our first inquiries will be : What are the main industries of the district ? and, How were such industries affected by the immigration of aliens ? I propose therefore to consider briefly the circumstances of a Dutch settlement in Ipswich during the sixteenth century, before dealing with the story of the Huguenots who followed a hundred years later. It is an historical fact that the cloth industry of East Anglia was established before Edward III encouraged the settlement of Flemings in England. The cloth trade of Sudbury, Bury St. Edmunds, Kersey, Lindsey, and Ipswich is represented in the Suffolk Subsidy Roll of 1282 as being in a thriving condition ; homespun cloth was in a greater demand than cloth of foreign texture, such as ' burrell ' of France, etc. It is not surprising, therefore, to note from the subsidy rolls of the fifteenth, and even the sixteenth, century, how few were the aliens who had established themselves in Suffolk houses. In 1472 only 15 names of aliens are recorded in the county ; in 1481 the number rose to 108, but when Maximilian acquired sole rule over the Netherlands, the number increased to 308, of whom 100 were from Flanders and 48 from Zealand, driven forth presumably by religious persecution.

Among the alien settlers residing in Ipswich in 1485 appear the names : Pylgrem, Burghmaster, Lely, Ingoll, Dadkin, Lucas, Gerard, Heed, Markin, Bernard, Sprynger, Bardon, Costyan, Nele, Forlowe, Dewe, Foslow, Bakker, Shorn, Vanharn, Rodes, Harrdys, Colver, Alcomade, Reynere, Vanheyn, Peytor,

Mychelsson, Wyllesman, and others. Of these names only four : Ingoll, Costyan, Nele, and 'Reyner are to be found in the very complete Ipswich Assessment Rolls of 1583 and 1585.

Ipswich and Dunwich as coast-towns acquired the greater number of settlers. In the former borough were 75 Flemings, none of whom were engaged in weaving ; they were chiefly occupied in the crafts of beer-brewing, coopering, carving, hat-making, shoemaking, and brick or tile manufacture. However, in 1510, complaints were made by the townsfolk of Ipswich of the large export trade carried on by merchant-strangers and of the number of foreign artificers employed by them. Many trading Companies had sprung up in the borough. These included mercers, drapers, clothworkers, tailors, shoemakers, and masons. A colony of Dutch traders set up in opposition. Many and varied were the sites and buildings chosen for making or storing cloth, but the principal storehouses and cloth-halls were rooms which once formed part of the monastic buildings of the Black Friars, and rooms or storage places beneath the Moot Hall. Although no records belonging to the Dutch community exist we occasionally find the names and occupations of these sixteenth-century settlers occurring in the municipal archives. It seems curious that several Dutchmen as John Johnson, Richard Cornelius, Antony Popler, and others were chosen to erect pulpits in the Hospital, the Bridewell, and the Commoners' Hall. From various entries to be met with in the several Court Books of the period it appears that the Dutch settlers were allowed the use of the room known as the Hospital, so it may be the pulpits there erected were for their own services. Their work as carvers was also solicited towards the erection of town bridges, the ornamentation of the ceilings of the Town Hall, and the erection of ornate and quaint corner posts, some of which remain standing to this day as exhibition of their skill.

Later a few Dutchmen had settled homes in the town, having made family ties with the inhabitants. Thus we find in 1546 Thomas Wynde, Arnold Deryck, Hubert Johnson, and John Peterson were ready to depose that they knew one John Cobee 'cooper' born in parts beyond the seas in Myddleburgh

in Zealand, was lawfully married to an Englishwoman, Jone, daughter of Thomas Tryckland. Dutchmen, also, availed themselves of the privilege of the performance of marriage rites among their own country folk within the town churches : John Johnson married Elizabeth Peterson in St. Nicholas Church, 1569 ; and John Dameron married Maude Dome in the same church in the same year. To track the names of foreigners in the various parish registers of the town is difficult from the fact of the variant spellings adopted by English scribes. Double names were used, as *e.g.*, Cornelius is often referred to as Joyner, Shevyn as Tuse, Olyver as Vytar, and sometimes as Joyce, and so on. However, an examination of the registers does show that, although the foreigners were not settled in a distinct quarter of the borough, yet they mainly congregated in those parishes which were nearer to the quays and wharves. From an inquisition taken 15 James I it is seen that Katherine Barker, widow, born in parts beyond the sea at Bergen op Zoom in Brabant, came to Ipswich at the age of eleven years and died possessing a messuage in Ipswich which fell as an escheat into the hands of the King. In the assessment rolls for 1580 and 1583 only two Dutchmen, Jasper and Peter Merrymounte of St. Stephen's parish, are entered as owners of houses ; but the will of Martyn Tice, *alias* Shenin, shows that other aliens possessed property in the borough. The most important of the foreign settlers was John Olyver *alias* Vytar, who was a bookseller, printer, and publisher of books imported from Flanders.

It is evident from the above facts, and from the list of aliens recorded in the subsidy rolls for 1568 and 1576, that they were sufficiently numerous to form a congregation or church of their own. The existence of such a church is supported by a letter, dated February 17, 1573, referring to Flemish refugees in England, addressed to the pastors, elders and deacons of the Dutch Christians of Norwich, Thetford, and Ipswich. Further, John Burwarde of Debache, county Suffolk, by his will, dated July 12, 1572, bequeathed 5*l.* to the poor of the Dutch Church of Ipswich, as well as to the poor of the Dutch Church of Norwich. No record has been found of the existence of any

one building wherein the members of the Dutch Church met for service. It is possible they were either allowed the use of the town church, St. Mary le Tower, by the Corporation, or that they were welcomed by some one of the Ipswich 'zealous preachers' to the use of his church and pulpit. Baron F. de Shickler states that the Church of Ipswich is mentioned in the Acts of the General Assembly of London, 1574. The Dutch residents of Thetford were weavers from Norwich (1578), about fifteen in number. Of them we read of an Assembly 'touching the quieting of the Dutchmen for their Church y^t is agreed with thassent of the chief Ducheman that they shall have the Guyldhall for to use as their Church until they shall have a more convenient place for them appointed.' But as the Ipswich members of the Dutch Church were in a different category from the weavers of Norwich and Thetford they were not so restricted in their movements and probably met as a congregation in a house of their own choosing rather than in such a public place as the Guildhall. In Appendix I will be seen a list of those who appear to have been members of the Ipswich Church in Elizabeth's reign, at a time when efforts were being made to establish a new Mart in the town whereby 'Ipswicke shold become Andwarpe.' It is well to notice that, although a period of only eight years exists between the times at which the lists were severally made, yet only six names are to be found enrolled in both lists. This fact appears to imply that the alien population of the town in the sixteenth century was to a large extent a migratory one. The promoters of the scheme were Christopher Goodwin, merchant, whose apprentices 'were made free both of this side of the seas and beyond,' and John Johnson, stapler, and Fleming. Ipswich merchants, in general, raised great opposition to the plan, fearing 'howe the fleming that bye this newe marte towne, must be occasioned to habite more heare than before, wth his wife and familye, and becom denizen or inter marrye wth us and havinge his children borne under thallegeance of the Quene, and bounde prentise at the marte towne . . . in tyme eate out the merchaunt adventure. . . .'

It is not strange, therefore, that the small Dutch Church

of Ipswich so dwindled away as to leave no lasting record of its existence. The Port of Ipswich became an active centre for immigration to Virginia and New England ; its ships also visited the shores of Iceland, Russia, and the East under the auspices of the Muscovite, Merchant Adventurers, and Eastland companies. These trading enterprises did not encourage further settlement of foreigners within the borough, and it is not until the close of the seventeenth century that an alien church was again established in Ipswich.

Under the early Stuart kings and during the Commonwealth home industries had greatly declined, poverty had increased, work was slack and unremunerative. The situation was so far desperate that the Corporation made laudable efforts to encourage weaving and the Council saw in the settlement of French refugees a prospect of Ipswich becoming a rival manufactory town to Norwich.

For more than a century Ipswich, like other boroughs of importance, had made an effort to find work 'to the intent to bring idle people to some godly exercise,' and for this purpose erected workhouses wherein the inmates carried on weaving and kindred occupations. In the summer of 1681 the Common Council so bestirred themselves in the matter as to solicit the help of a former townsman, Thomas Firmin, philanthropist, mercer and girdler of London, to bring from Norwich four weavers experienced in the manufacture of woollen cloths to be instructors at their workhouse. A vessel was sent from Ipswich to Norwich to bring their goods, and at a General Court held on November 1, 1681, it was agreed 'for the better Incouraginge of the Stuff weavers that are come from Norwich . . . that they shall have twoe hundred Pownds lent them for one yeere gratis . . . 100^{li} to John Wade thelder and Thomas Dormer upon their bond, and 100^{li} to John Wade the younger and James Rolls . . . the said fower Weavers not to departe this Towne to inhabite Elswhere of three years or twoe years att the Least.'

Bateley, a former Town Clerk, asserts that 'in compliance with an order issued by His Majesty's Privy Council in the year 1681, soliciting the inhabitants to find employment for

some poor French linen Weavers, who had been allowed to reside in the town and to establish a regular linen manufactory therein, the corporation lent four stuff weavers who came from Norwich to advance the establishment and keep the poor refugees employed.' The letter of thanks from Charles II for this support is here given :

*Letter from Charles II to the Bailiffs and Burgesses
of Ipswich.*

CHARLES REX.

Trusty and well beloved we greet you well your free and charitable reception of the poor french Linnen weavers is so well pleasing to us that we cannot but return you our thanks for the same in a very special manner and we do further assure you that we hope that manufacture may be a great and public advantage to that your Town and the whole nation when once established so we will upon all occasions readily give such encouragement as shall be thought fit and requisite for so good a work no less tending to the benefit of our own native subjects than to relief and support of those distressed foreigners who for conscience sake have taken their refuge in this our kingdom and so not doubting but you will persist as you have begun we bid you farewell. Given at our Court at Whitehall the 18 day of Nov. 1681 in the 23rd year of our reign.

By H.M. Command

L. JENKYNs.

By receiving the refugees the Common Council of Ipswich exhibited a greater spirit of philanthropy than their brethren of Lincoln who refused to admit the French Protestants, for they considered 'it would be no advantage to their City but a prejudice to them and all others.'

Durrant Cooper¹ asserts that Sir Henry Saville, on 21st November, 1681, introduced to Sir L. Jenkins, a Protestant linendraper, who would be able to give him some lights into the manner of bringing the manufacture of sailcloth into England. . . . 'The linendraper was no doubt M. Bonhomme, and under him the manufacture was most prosperously established. In this same year the Company of

¹ Cf. *Shickler*, vol. ii. pp. 317, 318.

Elders and Deacons of Threadneedle Street, in London, supplied the funds for an erection of a linen manufactory at Ipswich, where a great number of French Protestants had colonised: a Huguenot of Paris, named Bonhomme, taught them to make sailcloth.' Cooper, then quoting Macpherson, states the manufactory was so flourishing as to reduce importations from France from the years 1683-1733 by the enormous amount of 500,000*l*. For many years previous to 1681 Ipswich had been noted for the manufacture of poldavis for sailcloth, but French methernix if made of good stuff in length, breadth and workmanship was esteemed superior to Ipswich sailcloth.

Mr. George B. Beeman, the president of this Society, furnishes yet another account of the settlement of the Huguenot linen manufactory in Ipswich. According to him the Common Council proffered the adventurers

'all the furtherance possible as that they will lend them one of their churches and free them from Church and parish duties and have pitched up a convenience for the same which is well liked of where-upon will be a fund or stock settled to carry on the work beginning with twenty looms and other utensils and Sir Samuel Barnardiston and some worthy citizens are gone thither to promote the same. . . .'

It is probable that Mr. Beeman has given this information from the *Impartial Protestant Mercury*, No. 39, September 2-6, 1681, which he mentions in his article on the Ipswich Huguenots, but I have been unable to get access to this newspaper. There is, however, an item of news in the *Current Intelligence* for July 19-23, 1681, under Norwich, July 20, to the effect that 'Information [had] been given last Monday to the grand jury of this City against Mr. Thomas Firmin of London, for dispersing in this City seditious and scandalous Libels; particularly containing many malicious, lying and sawcy Reflections upon this City.' These libels probably referred to trade disputes in the City, and the disagreement existing between the members of the Dutch Church and its minister, or to the refusal to have Huguenot settlers in the City. It is interesting here to note that Sir Samuel Barnardiston in November 1681 was foreman of the jury,

among whom were Thomas Papillon and John Dubois, who refused to find a bill for high treason against Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury; further than the notice above recorded I have not seen any reference to the support given to the weaving industry by the then member for Grimsby, Sir Samuel Barnardiston, a native of Suffolk.

The difficulties which Mr. Beeman and other writers on the Ipswich Settlement have met with arise from the fact that in 1681 there were two distinct endeavours to plant manufactories in the borough, both of which were open to the admission of French refugee craftsmen. The one industry was the manufacture of woollens directly receiving the support of the Common Council and burgesses, guided by the counsel of Thomas Firmin; the other was the linen industry established by London Adventurers under the immediate patronage of the French Church in Threadneedle Street.

Thomas Firmin was not of Huguenot origin as Mr. Beeman suggests; the family had for generations resided in the south-west corner of Suffolk. Firmin, himself, was the son of Henry Firmin, a baker of Ipswich, and his wife Prudence. He was born in June 1632, five years before his father's decease, and was apprenticed to a mercer in London, where he finally took up his residence, but maintained a connexion with his native town and with the family of his brother John who became a member of the Common Council. His connexion with Ipswich led to his support of the woollen-weavers' settlement, to which, doubtless, he was the means of sending French refugee children, establishing thereby homes for them as he did later on (March 1683) at Ware. We gather from an account of his life written in 1698 by an intimate friend that he forwarded 13*l.* towards the meeting-house or 'Tabernacle' of French Protestants at Ipswich, and upon four several occasions supplied from his own purse a sum of money to the amount of 42*l.* towards the maintenance of twenty-one Huguenot families at Ipswich. His name does not appear among those of the seventy 'adventurers' who established the French linen industry under the patronage of George, Earl of Berkeley, in February 1687. Information seems to point to the fact that

the Huguenot children were housed in Christ Hospital, Ipswich, under the special supervision of the Norwich weavers. Their pastor, M. Bewley [*sic* M. Beaulieu], was provided with a special room in that building wherein to teach scholars (April 3, 1682). After the reading of Charles II's letter on behalf of the French Protestants the Common Council had ordered special collections to be made throughout all the parishes of Ipswich, and appointed Mr. William Browne, bailiff, to be treasurer.

One, René Guybert, is named as reader with M. Caesar de Beaulieu. I have found his name in the French Protestant Commissioners' Accounts, for Beaulieu is therein frequently mentioned as receiving a salary of 1*l.* weekly as French minister in Ipswich. It is interesting to note that Thomas Firmin was one of the Commissioners. In the *Current Intelligence*, No. 42, September 13, 1681, we read :

'Many poor Protestants do daily arrive here from France and all possible care is taken to provide for them. His Majesty has been pleased to appoint a Committee of seven Persons, viz., The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Bishop of London, the Lord Mayor of London, the Dean of St. Paul's, Mr. Thomas Papilion, Mr. John Dubois, and Mr. Thomas Firmin, by whose order the money collected for the use of the said Protestants is to be issued out of the Chamber of London. They commonly meet once a week, and oftener when occasion requires, and are constantly attended by two elders of the French Church, viz., Mr. William Carbonell and Mr. Claude Hayes, together with two deacons who inform them from time to time what numbers arrive and what money is necessary for their presence substance.'

The members of this committee were especially connected with the Ipswich woollen and linen industries, as appears from various entries in their accounts.

Extracts from an Account Book at the Guildhall Library, MS. 279, giving an 'Acct of Monies received towards the Relief of Poore Protestants Lately come over from the Kingdome of France.' (1681-1684.)

fol. 70. 1681 :

14 April Paid Mr. Claudie Hays for settling the
Woollen Manufacture at Ipswich

l. s. d.

. 125 0 0

14 March	Paid Mr. Beaulieu french Minister at Ipswich as by Order dated the 13 Mar. 168 $\frac{1}{2}$.	30	10	0
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fol. 72. 1682 :

2 May	Paid Mr. Tho. Firmin to be returned to Ipswich for y ^e relief of the french Protestants there <i>per</i> order dated 1 May .	120	0	0
13 June	Paid Mr. Charles Moxsom for the french Protestants expended in a journey to Ipswich <i>per</i> order dated 12 June .	10	2	10
18 July	Paid Mr. De L'Ortie to be returned to Ipswich to Mr. Beaulieu by order dated 17 July .	18	0	0

fol. 73 :

5 Sep.	Paid Mr. Thomas Firmin C ^H to satisfie 2 bills drawne on him from Ipswich .	100	0	0
20 Sep.	Paid Mr. Beaulieu minister of the French Church at Ipswich <i>per</i> order dated 18 Instant .	20	0	0
26 Sep.	Paid Tho. papillon Esq. Tre ^r for y ^e french Protestants at Ipswich as <i>per</i> warrant dated y ^e 25th [<i>sic</i>] .	104	14	7
27 Sep.	Paid Mr. Francis Amonett disbursed on the account of the Woollen manufactors at Ipswich .	114	15	0
14 Nov.	Paid Mr. Thomas Firmin to be remitted to Mr. Gardemau french minister at Ipswich as <i>per</i> order dated y ^e 9th Instant .	13	0	0
21 Nov.	Paid Mr. Caesar De Beaulieu for his quarters Salary ended the 1st instant <i>per</i> warrant dated y ^e 20th instant .	13	0	0

fol. 74 :

17 Jan.	Paid Mr. Caesar De Beaulieu late minister of the french Church in Ipswich <i>per</i> order dated 15th instant for his quarters allowance .	13	0	0
24 Jan.	Paid Mr. Francis Ammonett for money disbursed by him among the french Protestants at Ipswich <i>per</i> order dated 15th of this instant .	78	15	10

		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
3 Feb.	Paid to Thomas Papillon Esq. for rent disbursed for the houses where the Linnen Weavers inhabited at Ipswich <i>per</i> order dated 29th July 1682	11	3	4
7 Mar.	Paid Mr. Francis Amonnet disbursed for the french Protestants at Ipswich.	143	17	0
14 Mar.	Paid Mr. Thomas Papillon disbursed for 25 Lining [<i>sic</i>] for y ^e french Protestants att Ipswich <i>per</i> order dated y ^e 12 instant	17	1	11
1683 :				
29 Mar.	Paid Mr. francis Amonnet for money disbursed for y ^e french Protestants att Ipswich <i>per</i> order dated 26th instant	15	6	0
7 April	Paid Mr. Beaulieu [<i>sic</i>] minister of y ^e french Church at Ipswich <i>per</i> order dated 26 Mar. 1683	8	10	0
30 April	Paid Mr. Ammonnet for Ipswich for y ^e Reader there <i>per</i> order dated y ^e 16 April	5	0	0
2 May	Paid Mr. Caesar de Beaulieu late minister of y ^e french Church at Ipswich his $\frac{1}{4}$ allowance <i>per</i> order dated 30 April	13	0	0
16 May	Paid Mr. Francis Amonnet to be returned to Mr. Gardemau minister of the french Church at Ipswich for his Salary <i>per</i> order dated 14th instant	13	0	0
31 July	Paid Mr. Francis Amonett 13 ^{li} to be paid Mr. Gardemau at Ipswich & 5 ^{li} to Mr. Grant, Reader of y ^e said church <i>per</i> order dated 29 July	18	0	0
fol. 77	Payments of Mony on acct ^{tt} of french Protestants by Peter Aylworth Esq., Chamberlen.			
1683 :				
25 Oct.	Paid Mr. Firmin <i>per</i> order xvi ^{li} to be by him distributed to the Officers of the Chamber for their care & paines taken in receiveing & paying the french Protestants money	16	0	0
27 Nov.	Paid Mr. Caesar de Beaulieu for his qrt ^{rs} Salary <i>per</i> warrant dated 26 November instant	13	0	0

		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1 Dec.	Paid Mr. Francis Amonnett <i>per</i> order dated 26 November last to be by him returned to Ipswich viz. 27 <i>l.</i> 11 <i>s.</i> to Mr. Gardemau minister of the french Church there & 5 <i>l.</i> to Mr. Le Grand, Reader there as <i>per</i> warrant	27	11	0
5 Feb.	Paid Mr. Tho. Firmin <i>per</i> order dated y ^e 28th of January for y ^e french Protestants at Ipswich 10 <i>l.</i> & at Canterbury 20 <i>l.</i>	[<i>sic.</i>]		
3 Feb.	Paid Mr. Gardemau minister of the french Church at Ipswich <i>per</i> warrant dated 28 January	30	0	0
5 Feb.	Paid Mr. Beaulieu minister <i>per</i> order 28th January	21	18	0
		13	0	0
1684 :				
27 Sept.	Paid unto Mr. Thomas Firmin by order dated the 20th Sept. 1684 to be distributed viz. 26 <i>l.</i> to Mr. Bertrand, 26 <i>l.</i> to Mr. Gardemau, 10 <i>l.</i> to Mr. Le Grant 15 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> to Mr. Severin, 15 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> to Mr. Rowdeuw 15 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> to Mr. Gomert 10 <i>l.</i> to Capt ⁿ Machin 4 <i>l.</i> to Peter du Verger & 20 <i>l.</i> to Mr. Charles Mosson in all .	142	16	0

(The only payments recorded after those entered for the year 1684 refer to 2 payments made in 1689 to Mr. Daniel Duthais 'for french Protestants goeing to Transilvania.')

Success did not follow the Adventurers' undertaking; failure may have arisen partly from disturbances connected with the elections of MM. Papillon and Dubois as sheriffs, and partly from the divided support given by Ipswich freemen. Further, James II withdrew the support of the Crown from the project: even the local French ministers could not obtain payment of their salaries. The low condition of the community at this time is described by Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich, in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated June, 1686. The Adventurers Company had their own pastor, one, Balthazar Gardemau, who was assisted by Pierre Le Grant, as reader.

Gardemau was appointed to the perpetual curacy of St. Mary Elms, Ipswich, in 1688, and afterwards to Coddendam Vicarage, which he held for several years, but was outlived by his wife, Lady Catherine, daughter of the Earl of Sandwich who fell at the fight of Sole Bay. Pierre Le Grant was ordained by the Bishop of London in 1682. According to a Guildhall MS. enumerating eighty-five French ministers living in 1695, he was born in Poitou, and then fifty-eight years of age, having a wife and one daughter. He may have continued to reside in Ipswich for a time as his daughter was buried there; subsequently he was appointed reader to Swallow Street Church. In his time, the settlement to which he ministered consisted of 117 weavers with their wives and families.

No definite record of the early Huguenot settlers has yet come to light. Occasionally, in parish registers, burial and other announcements give us various names, as James Shalya, Mary, wife of John Deefore (Dufour), Mishell, daughter of Jeames Leene, Margaret, daughter of John Cogan, Dulac Gulaber, Esther Dulac, and Margaret, daughter of Jeames Latour and Ann his wife, all of St. Nicholas parish and noted as being French. The list may be further enlarged by the addition of thirty-seven names from *Les Tesmoignages de l'Eglise de Threadneedle Street* already published, as well as from Subsidy and Assessment Rolls. The Headboroughs' accounts for Ipswich introduce to our notice such names as John Castenet, tailor, Charles Murrecay, Philip Penno, Mons. Mabaye, doctors and surgeons, Mons. d'Pratt, Mons. Rosery and Mons. Renew, entered as Frenchmen. It was customary in the borough of Ipswich to make a new assessment in the first year of a monarch's reign. The assessment for the year 1689 reveals the fact that the Huguenot weavers were settled in the parishes of St. Margaret and St. Nicholas. In the former parish 'several Frenchmen' had residence in an old inn, called The Waggon in Wash Lane; in the latter parish, also, 'several' Frenchmen dwelt in one large house. The assessment rolls for 1702 and 1714 show that in those years there were no large number of Huguenots in the town; in 1722 Defoe alluded to the Huguenot settlement but found no thriving manufacture; linen weaving

was carried on to a small extent and the poor people were employed in spinning wool for other towns where manufactures were in progress.

The decay of manufacture was very marked in 1688, the year in which a brief was read in all churches throughout the land on behalf of French Protestants. The call was well responded to in Ipswich ; and, in addition, the Common Council in that year took over twenty-four looms used in linen-weaving, and allowed the French to retain six looms which were converted to the use of woollen manufacture. Other Frenchmen were permitted to make hats, open shops, and sell their hats in the Towne. In 1687 the Council minutes record an agreement that ' Paul Duboy the Frenchman whose child was hurt by the tumbrill driven by Henry Bugge within the parish of St. Peters shall be allowed three pounds towards its cure.'

Letters (as given below) from the Mayor, Bailiffs of Ipswich, the Reverend Balthazar Gardemau and the Bishop of Norwich contained pleadings for assistance from the London Committee ; and it is possible that their petitions caused the promoters of the Lustring Company to set up a factory at Ipswich. A full list of persons employed by the Company is given in Appendix II. It is probable that this list includes names of many of the former Huguenot weavers as well as ' fifty families ' from the London Settlement.

*Letter of Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich, to the Archbishop
of Canterbury.*¹

Norw: 4 June 86

MAY IT PLEASE Y^r GRACE—

Its really a great trouble unto me, y^t I am forced to give youre Grace such frequent Interruptions ; but in good truth I am Constrayn'd unto it, & therefore, I hope your Graces Candor will excuse me.

My Ld, when I was at Ipswich, M^r Gardemau y^e French minister there, came to me, and earnestly pressed me, to doe somewhat towards his support in his ministry there. I had never seene him, but once att your table at Lambeth, but when I enquired of y^e

¹ MS. Tanner, 138, f. 45.

Clergy after his demeanor at Ipswich, they told me y^t he was a studious & a sober man, well affected to y^e established Govern^t whereupon I desired him to sett downe in writing his request, accordingly he did, & soe did y^e present Major, & M^r Lambe, who is a loyall discreet Gent. And I have taken y^e freedome, to send their papers to y^r Grace, not doubting, but y^t y^r Grace, will be pleased (upon y^e perusall of them) to extend your Charity towards y^e poore French Protestants at Ipswich, soe as to prevayle with y^e other Commissrs to sette a fund there, whereby y^e distressed French P: may be employed & thereby releived. youre Grace & youre Colleague will best determine what is meet & fitt to be done in their case, & therefore I submitt it, to y^r wisdom, & their one [*sic*—? own] papers intimate their humble desire.

My Ld, the French minister In this Cittie (for I will tacke their papers together & their desires) made a greivous Complaint to me agst y^e Elders of his Congregation, (to whose humor & office as lay elders its naturall to be peevish & tyrannous) they detayne his salary, & assume y^e whole government of y^e Congregation to themselves as is to be seene in his paper enclosed. . . .

[*The remaining part of the letter deals with ecclesiastical irregularities in the Diocese of Norwich.*]

*Petition of Rev. B. Gardemau to Lloyd, Bp. of Norwich.*¹

That the R^t Reverend Father in God my Lord Bishopp of Norw^{ch} would graciously be pleased, 1st to take the paines to write to my Lord Bishopp of London, or to whome he shall thinck fitt, that Some parte of the money gathered, or to be gathred wth the Brief granted by his ma:^{ty} to the French Protestants, may be assigned for A fund to maintayne the French Linnen manufacture now in Ipwich [*sic*], A Sume of 2 or 3 Thowsand pounds will settle the Manufacture forever, and employ not only the French that now are in Ipwich—but many others alsoe, who will come to work in the same manufacture Except Some such course be taken, the French now in Ipwich will want worke before the end of this Summer and consequently will leave the towne 2^{ly} That my Lord Bishopp of Norw^{ch} alsoe be soe kind as to request that I may have my allowance out of this Brief mony (as form^{rly} I had out of the first) till I be some

¹ MS Tanner, 92, fol. 124.

other way provided for, These 2 things are the short petition most humbly tendred to his Ldp By

his most humble and most obliged Serv^t and most true sone of the Church of England, and his Ma^{ties} most Loyall Subje^t

BAL^R GARDEMAU.

Ipswich Apr^l 29th 1686.

[Endorsed :]

Mr Gardemau Fr. Min^r of Ipswich & 2 Magistrates of Ipsw. for y^e poor Frenchmen there & m^r Cutlove & y^e Bp.

*Letter from the Bailiffs of Ipswich to Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich.*¹

MY LORD

That incouragment which you are pleased to give us, by your Kind Message sent us by Mr. Cutlove makes us presume to represent to you the sad Condition of the French Protestants in this Towne & to begg yo^r Assistance that by your intercession to the Arch Bishopp and such other Commissioners as yo^r Lordship is acquainted wth wee may gaine some part of those moneys which are contributed at London & other Places which may remayne here as a stock and fund to sett them on worke, and that what is gathered in this Towne may be employed for the same Purpose, this stock we shall indeavour so to secure that it may continually remayne as a fund for them. The number of them is considerable, but they are all of the poorest & meanest sort & altogether unable of themselves to raise a fund or stock to manage & imploy themselves in their trade, And although this Towne hath been highly Charitable to them in lending them monyes to be employed as a stock for them, Yet we find it farr short of what would be necessary to sett them all on worke, so that they are for the present in a very lowe Condition—although wee find them ready upon all opportunityes to imploy themselves, so that there is only a stock wanting to make them live comfortably & well, And when wee have assured yo^r Lordship that it Would be the greatest Act of Charity to relieve them—we shall need to add noe more, wee are my Lord

Yours to honor & serve yoⁿ

JOⁿ PEMBERTON

JOHN LAMBE.

¹ MS. Tanner, 92, f. 119.

[In a different hand :]

Mr. Pemberton & Mr. Lambe desired me to doe some kindness to y^e poore Fr. Protestants att Ipswich, & y^t message was sent me by theire minister Mr. Cutlove. I desired to know, wherein I might be Instrumentall to serve them, & y^t was y^e encouragement mentioned in y^e beginning of this letter.

The Common Council in 1690 appointed four of their number 'to treat with the Gents that shall come from London about the linen manufactory.' It was further proposed

'to the Incorporation for the manufacture in order to the setting part of the trade in Ipswich, First, that the Town will furnish the above Corporation with a convenient Workhouse for carrying on the said trade gratis and rent free, and with Warehouse rent free. Also if the Corporation shall think fit to set up a Blechery in or near the said town that the town shall furnish them at a reasonable rate. Also that the common hoymen belonging to the said town shall be obliged to carry the goods of the said trade at very moderate rates.'

It was three years later that the Common Council agreed that

'fifty families of the French Protestants that weave silk Luke Stringe [*sic*] shall be admitted inhabitants of this town and that they shall have forty shillings for each family and the charges coming to town and shall have a church provided for them and an allowance for their minister of twenty pounds a year for two years and that they shall not be rated nor put into any office for seven years, and that they shall not use any other trade in the said town and that they give security that they shall not cut any silk to retail nor to depart the town in seven years, if they do to return the money aforesaid to the said town and also to discharge the town and parishes from any charge that shall happen by the said fifty families or any French to be employed by them. . . .'

In 1698 efforts were again made to bring a manufactory into the town, but in 1709 refusal was given to a German

company to establish a manufactory because trade was decayed and the town greatly impoverished.

The scope of my undertaking has been to add further information about the Dutch and Huguenot settlements in Ipswich, and although my efforts have brought no great success in that direction, they have enabled me, personally, to gain a clearer insight into the character of refugee colonies, and they have brought to my notice valuable historical documents, some of which are deserving of publication among the papers of the Huguenot Society of London. I desire to thank Mr. M. S. Giuseppi of the Public Record Office, Dr. F. de Havilland Hall, and Mr. A. H. Thomas, Keeper of the Records of the City of London, for the encouragement and help they have given me in my work.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

ALIENS OF IPSWICH

1568

Amell, William
 Bartlye, John
 Brewer, Antony
 Broke, Marten
 Caley, John
 Colman, Lambert
 Cornelius, William
 Dennys, Martyne
 Fasse, John
 Faysshett, Peter
 Fynne, Derricke
 Gilbert, Frind
 Gripp, William
 Henryckson, John
 Hynne, Angell
 Hynne, Henrick

Jander, Gloander
 Johnson, Frank
 Joyner, Powell
 Lamberd, Rychard
 Lambert, Henry
 Moosse, John
 Polyn, Derick
 Quick, Drewse
 Quick, Hercules
 Shevyne, Mathew
 Storme, Hubberd
 Tylman, Godfrey
 Tyse, Wodow
 Waken, John
 Wannkey, Walter

1576

Bont, Nyes	Meremounte, Jasper
Busse, John	Meremounte, Peter
Cone, Thomas	Myles, George
Crele, Peter	Myles, William
Docker, Simon	Nicholas, William
Dome, Adam	Olyver, John, <i>alias</i> Vytar
Donson, Garrard	Personne, Jacob
Foulse, Adam	Peter, Adrian
Franks, John	Popler, Antony
Frunegrune, Cornelius	Pulhed, Derrick
Gehowar, Francis	Rickhard, Lambard
Glason, James	Roderick, Edward
Howe, Angell	Shevyn, Mathew
Hubbard, Slede	Tuse, Derrick
Johnson, Frank	Tylman, Christopher
Johnson, William	Tyse, John
Joyner, Poul	Vytar, John, <i>alias</i> Olyver
Langworthe, Bastken	Vantwest, John
Lotte, Peter	Williams, John
Mayard, Gilbert	

APPENDIX II

THE ROYAL LUSTRING COMPANY

THE Royal Lustring Company, to whom was due the effort to establish a colony of Huguenots in Ipswich to carry on the manufacture of lustrings, was established by Royal Charter in 1691. The Petition of Weavers ¹ gives the origin of the Company as follows : Peter du Cloux, pretending himself to be the first maker of Alamodes and Lustrings in England did procure with Clowdesley and Sherrard a Patent for the sole making thereof, as a new Invention. They made no use of this Patent until they sold the same to certain Merchant-Traders with France, & some Mercers who got themselves incorporated in 1691, by the name of the Royal Lustring Company. On 28th Jan. 1695 the company complained that the petitioning weavers headed by Captain le Keux & John Blondell, representatives of the 'French Faction,' hindered their work. In the same year a list of weavers employed by the said Company was delivered to the then Lords Justices ; from this list are taken the names of the weavers employed at Ipswich. It will be seen that Renew,

¹ Pamphlets, Brit. Mus. 13/122 : 'Case of Great Number of Weavers.'

Firmin, and Powell, who were the chief directors of the work in that borough, were members of the Royal Lustring Company which altogether employed at that time 768 looms in London and Ipswich.¹

Each loom was capable of working up $1\frac{1}{4}$ lb. of Piedmont silk weekly, which the Company asserted was the only silk fit for use in the manufacture of Lutestrings. Under the patronage of Lord Shrewsbury factors were sent to Piedmont where Huguenot refugees were settled. The Company received a subsidy of 2400*l.* per annum from Government, which they petitioned in 1711 to be renewed, as 'the Dutch had set up making all sorts of plain black silk as Razdegennes, Peaudesoys and plain black mantua' to the injury of their Lutestring manufacture. The charter was renewed and foisted upon the public during the South Sea Company mania with such success that we find it noted as a particularly inflated stock even among other notorious bubbles. Its stock in a short period rose from 5*l.* 2*s.* to 105*l.* The charter was finally extinguished by a comminatory order of the Lords Justices.

Association Oath Roll 1695, No. 399. (P.R.O.)

THE ASSOCIATION OF THE ROYAL LUSTRING COMPANY FOR
MAKING AND DRESSING ALAMODES, RENFORCES AND LUSTRINGS
IN ENGLAND.

Whereas there has been an Horrid & Detestable Conspiracy formed & carried on by Papistes & other wicked & Traiterous persons for Assassinating his Majesties Royal person in order to encourage an Invasion &c. . . .

SIGNATURES

William Lewen,	Dep :	Elmer Spinvey	Daniel Haijs
Gov ^r		Andrew Stace	Cephas Tutel
Peter le Keux		Hen: Olmuis	Robert Stamper
John Blondel		H. Dulaine Lernoult	Ja: Cooke
William Sherard		Richard Hopkinson	John De Farey
Lewis Gervaise		Jo: Sansom jun:	David L. Beulon
Paul Cloudesley		Ric: Savage	John Du Maistre
Peter Lans		Gabriel Angier	Jn ^o Barbot
E. Renew		Tho: Goodwin	John Sherbrooke
Thomas Miller		W ^m Powell	P: Guion
Stephen Seignoret		3 (? Hillary) Renew	James King
Tho: Firmin		Jame Hulby de Pressgné	George Merttuy
B. Mackshaw		Joseph Paice	John Hodgson
Stephen Moguier		Henry Merttins	John Drigae
Paul Rees		Peter Marescoe	John Moguier

¹ *Treasury Papers* (1711), Vol. 139, No. 19.

Francis Beteithe	Peter Floyer	Clement Gibbs
Guide	Jn ^o Cartlitch	Rich: Cooper
M. Lacoze	Jn ^o Barrington	Leonard Fitchew
Reney Barswinn	Bent Metcalf	Daniel Sheldon
David Bosanquete	John Watts	W ^m Browne
John Lekeux jun:	Daniel Allen	Claude Hays & Son
Rob ^t Lplashier	Lawrence Galdy	Henry Briscoe
Richard Smith	Frans ^s Beuzelin	Charles Defose
Edward Lambert	Jn ^o Shaw	Tho: Blythe
Ferdinand Renaud	Tho: Taylor	Pr Albert
James Seignoret	W ^m Vega	Edward Pratt
Gabriel Tahourden	Tho: Wicham	John Stiles
Robert Stevens	Michael Watts	Peter Renallt jun:
Peter Deschamps	James Dargent	John Reneu
Ben: Leny	Rob ^t Clayton	James Liége
John Philips	Fran: Andrieu	Daniel Bobin
Jacob Massonneau	F. Hunot	John Le Keux
Josias Bainton	Ran: Hurcel	Andrew Dupuy
Tho: Prime	Bartholomew Shilibert	William Grutter
Edw: Pichier	Fr: Grueber	Joseph Cope,
Edw: Ellricke	Andrew Bincks	Jn ^o Bourgier, jun
W ^m Ashurst	Jo: Jenkinson	Dan ^l Oliviet

AN ENCLOSURE TO A REPORT DRAWN UP BY H. RENEU BY ORDER OF THE ROYAL "LUSTRING" CO. SHOWING, FOR THE INFORMATION OF THE TREASURY, THE STATE OF THEIR STOCK, LOOMS, ETC, NOV. 7, 1711.¹

List of Weavers and other Workmen employed by the Company.

No.	More at Ipswich.	No.	More at Ipswich.
393	Peter Cattany senior	412	Peter Monier
394	Peter Cattany junior	413	Harell sonn
395	Francis Moreau	414	Abraham Cherigny
396	Francis Farthfla	415	Jacob Pechoues
397	Salomon Devaux	416	Gedeon Ferres
398	Sam ^l Devaux	417	John Clark
399	Isaac Bouchet	418	Henry Tirion
400	Peter Lataniere	419	James Bourdon
401	Hugh Lataniere	420	Peter Housel
402	Thomas Soulin	421	James Legros
403	Robert Chackly	422	John Caoon
404	John Favereau	423	Claud Breman
405	Peter le Blanc	424	Balthazar Perets
406	Jacob Vidal	425	David Olanier
407	John Olevin	426	Augustin Duffe
408	John Olevin sonn	427	John Martin
409	James Harell	428	Daniel Chapiot
410	Mark Cornillard	429	John Oudar
411	Isaac Cornillard	430	Anthony Margaro

¹ Treasury Papers, Vol. 139, No. 19

No. More at Ipswich.

- 431 Lewis Pelet
- 432 Mathieu Odon
- 433 Cesard B..ttand
- 434 James Longeat
- 435 Isaac Alyn
- 436 James Deneus
- 437 Peter Lege
- 438 Marcke Mulereau
- 439 John De Villere
- 440 Wm. Barber
- 441 Samⁿ Vincent
- 442 Samⁿ Cartany
- 443 Jammes Linnet
- 444 Peter Linnet
- 445 Antho Linnet
- 446 Paul Alavoine
- 447 Isaac Dubois
- 448 Isaac Lebreman
- 449 John Quesnell
- 450 Nicolas Cholet
- 451 Abraham Guerand
- 452 Daniel Guerand
- 453 Anth. Bruneau
- 454 Lewis Poirier
- 455 Wm. Poupe
- 456 Peter Picard
- 457 Maturin Benoist
- 458 John Dufour
- 459 John Larroche
- 460 Jean Guerand
- 461 March Tritan
- 462 Peter Turretin
- 463 James Plantier
- 464 Lewis Degumain
- 465 Michel Bernard
- 466 Joseph Sauvage
- 467 Nouel Lauzel
- 468 John Ressequier
- 469 Abraham Verduron
- 470 Michael Bruneau
- 471 Hugh Cartany

No. More at Ipswich.

- 472 Mark Lebreman
- 1
- 473 Elias Montenot
- 474 James Kignar
- 475 David Lebeaulieu
- 476 Peter Deman
- 477 James Cossart
- 478 Tho. Hewet
- 479 Pett^r Goujon
- 480 James Philip
- 481 Simon Olivier
- 481 James Baptiste Doly
- 482 Andrew Luya
- 483 Simon Cavalier
- 484 Petter Walter *alias* gaster
- 485 Francis Pouley
- 486 Isaac Couliet
- 487 William Boulton
- 488 John Gatout
- 489 Lewis Malfaisant
- 490 Petter Sauuage
- 491 John Allauan
- 492 Lewis Car
- 493 Touxain Malherbe
- 494 Michael Cowell
- 495 Edward Shelton
- 496 John Lot
- 497 Petter Valentine
- 498 John Bapuy
- 499 John Bekton
- 500 Abraham Valet
- 501 James Ledoulx
- 502 Jacob Hap
- 503 William Wetherst
- 504 Isaac Rognor
- 505 Reynior Incolp
- 506 Thomas Storty
- 507 Nicholas Cuny
- 508 Steph. Melot
- 509 Aaron Lamb
- 510 James Porot

Jurat' vicesimo die Aprilis 1695 coram me

JOHN POWELL.

¹ From this line (*quaere* the end of the workmen in Ipswich) in a smaller hand, the same in which the date at the end is written.

The Last of the Valois.

By W. WYATT-PAINE, F.S.A.

CERTAIN persons in history, like cardinal virtues or mortal sins, are a great deal discussed, a great deal praised, or a great deal vilified ; are either honoured by a vast amount of distant and rather nebulous admiration as heroes or pilloried as very monstrosities of iniquity, without the world at large possessing any very accurate or practical acquaintance with the personal peculiarities or environment of the individuals themselves or the characteristics of the period during which they played their several parts on this mortal stage.

The potent yet evanescent limitations of time and space are ever present with us. All of us involuntarily, yet necessarily and not infrequently fallaciously, when discussing historic subjects and early times seek to distinguish the pure gold from the base metal of an antecedent period by those touchstones of morality which constitute the standards of propriety in the age in which we ourselves live.

The man I am talking about to-night was, I take it, neither all angel nor all devil—though unless history has grossly misrepresented him he comes down to us as being within the latter rather than the former category. Imagine the race from which he sprang and the period in which he flourished, and then deal leniently, if you can, with some of his many transgressions.

For nearly 250 years (Philip VI, 1329 ; Henry III, 1574) the line of Valois had swayed the sceptre of France. That royal race by consummate king-craft had evolved out of a whirlpool of constant and almost internecine civil war between the turbulent and practically independent nobility

of France a mighty sovereignty. Henry III's ancestors, Louis XI and Louis XII—the one by subtlety, the other by marriage—had welded together and expanded the limits of dominion until all that we know as France at the present day, and all that we hope France will retain in the future, was incorporated in this great kingdom of the western Franks. And yet! and yet!! even as the butterfly is bound to pay the debts of the chrysalis, so if one dared without presumption to interpret the decrees of Providence one would think—at least in the latter part of their dominion—that the Most High had a controversy with this royal house and that He with whom is the final arbitrament of all things was wrathfully displeased with them.

The records of the House of Valois reek with the blood of kings. The eldest son of Francis I is said to have died by poison. Henry II, pierced in the eye by the chance thrust of the spear of Montgomeri, fell in the tilt-yard of the Palace of the Tournelles (and his innocent slayer suffered death long years afterwards on a trumped-up charge of treason during the second regency of the Queen-Mother Catherine, who never pardoned Montgomeri for the accidental death of her husband). Charles IX (the monster of St. Bartholomew), with blood oozing from every pore of his skin, died mysteriously in agonies unutterable, and to him succeeded his brother Henry III, the last of the Valois, and the subject of to-night's paper.

I want to try to describe this man to you. A contemporary gossip, Pierre l'Estoile, has left a weird and discursive diary of the fashions and follies of this period (and fashions and folly have a far larger martyrology than any creed). It is to this scandalous account of l'Estoile (who by the by was a Huguenot), amongst others, that I am indebted for many of the particulars which I hope to place before you. I have I think in a former paper pointed out how all history is tinted and varied in hue by the predilections and prejudices of the historian, even as in the same garden the rose drinks crimson and the convolvulus azure from the like circumambient air, so I, who seek to dissociate myself from the prejudices

of other writers, am sure to import my own into this sketch and portray some of the characters in 'lurid dyes of earthquakes and eclipse' when perhaps after all they were but very ordinary mortals.

In the shameful records of human depravity are inscribed in lurid characters certain female names, Jezebel, Messalina, Julia Maesia, and, perhaps, Catherine de Medici—the last of whom, the mother of Henry III, was almost equal to the others in bad pre-eminence. In person Catherine, who was the evil genius of France during the successive reigns of Henry II and his sons Francis II, Charles IX, and Henry III, was very stout and given to over-feeding. L'Estoile says that at the marriage feast of the brother-in-law of Henry III (the Marquis de Nomery) with the daughter of the Duke de Penthièvre she ate till she nearly burst. This charming lady bore her years well, and at her death, which took place in 1589 at the Château de Blois in her seventy-second year, she looked no more than sixty.

Henry III, duc d'Anjou, the third son of Henry II and Catherine, was born at Fontainebleau on September 19, 1551. He was originally called Alexander Edward, but these names were changed at his confirmation to Henry. His godfathers were Edward VI of England and Antoine de Bourbon (father of Henry IV), and his godmother Antoine's wife, Jeanne de Navarre, the heroic spouse of the weak Antoine. Jeanne de Navarre is said to have been one of the many victims of Catherine de Medici's skill in the art of secret poisoning. It is stated that she discovered some dreadful secret in which the Queen Mother was implicated, and that Catherine, dreading its disclosure, poisoned her with a perfumed pair of gloves.

Henry was his mother's darling, and from his youth up was trained by her in that depraved Italian style of statecraft of the period, which curiously combined political faithlessness with puerile superstition and reckless debauchery. Henry was an apt scholar in this school. Endowed with brilliant parts, possessed of a lively and penetrating spirit, he early gave himself up to statecraft and intrigue, and more than once involved himself in conspiracies against his elder brother

Charles IX. One writer says of him that he carried to his throne the politics of Machiavelli and Caesar Borgia without possessing the capacity of either, and in his private life under a hypocritical cloak of religion combined the depravities of Heliogabalus and Alexander VI. In person he was handsome, but effeminate and given up to a thousand womanish vanities, sometimes retiring like an Oriental prince into the privacy of a harem, and anon indulging his vagaries in public. He was at all times most careful of his toilet, using for the conservation of his beauty innumerable appliances and cosmetics. On retiring to bed he was accustomed to put on gloves of a special kind of leather to maintain the elegance of his fingers, and after daubing his face with pomade donned a mask to preserve his complexion. 'Altogether,' says this writer, who does not seem to have really liked him, 'one scarcely knows whether most to deprecate his private debaucheries or his public iniquities.' And as for dress, why, he was the dandy of the age—that unusual thing a dandy with an imagination. And if instead of being the Monarch of France he had been a man-milliner like Worth or Paquin he would probably have been notorious for creations in gowns instead of being infamously notorious alike for his public transgressions and his private sins.

Someone has said—I think it is Charles Dickens—that there are some positions in life which acquire peculiar value from the coats and waistcoats connected with them. A field-marshal has his uniform, a bishop his silk apron, a king's counsel his silk gown, a beadle his cocked hat. Strip the bishop of his apron, or the beadle of his hat and lace; what are they? Men, mere men. Dignity and even holiness, too, sometimes are more questions of coat and waistcoat than some people imagine.

Henry of Valois, with that inventive imagination for dress to which I have already alluded, founded a new order of knight-hood—the Order of the Holy Ghost. The mantles worn by the Grand Master, Knights and Companions of this Order are still in existence, and form one of the great treasures of the Cluny Museum. They are of the richest velvet—though by

this time the velvet, like Henry's character, is somewhat threadbare—embroidered with cloven tongues of gold, sacrilegiously emblematic, I suppose, of the descended Paraclete.

Such were some of the many vagaries of this extraordinary Prince who, I think, may not inaptly be termed the Honorius of France.

On reaching his sixteenth year, his mother, who was then regent for the first time (owing to the death of her husband Henry II), made him generalissimo of the Army, and the French forces under his nominal command, thanks to his lieutenants the Marshals de Corse and de Tavannes, won the battles of Jarnac and Moncontour in 1569, thereby covering him with fictitious glory, although in justice it should be said he showed great personal bravery on the field.

On the Eve of St. Bartholomew he attended the midnight council at the Louvre which decided upon the massacre of the following day, and in the next year (1573) he commanded at the siege of La Rochelle, where his incapacity and slothfulness resulted in the destruction of the Royal army. Upon learning that (owing to the intrigues of his mother) he had been elected King of Poland, he hastily entered into a treaty with the Rochellais redounding much to their advantage, and started off to Warsaw to take possession of his crown. But no sooner had he reached Poland than the unpolished manners, turbulence, and personal rudeness of his nobles, who could not understand his dandified ways, inspired him with repugnance and disgust, and prompted him by way of diversion to embroil Poland in a war with Turkey.

Just at this time, however, he received the very welcome intelligence that owing to the sudden death of his brother Charles he had succeeded to the throne of France. Secretly abandoning Cracovia by night, he reached Vienna and then proceeded to Venice, whence after a prolonged stay in the Queen of the Adriatic he traversed Lombardy, lingering there to enjoy the various fetes, dances, and diversions of all kinds given to him by the lesser Princes of Italy, before encountering the popular tempests and civil wars which he shrewdly expected awaited him on the other side of the Alps.

If life consist of contrasts, the contrast is indeed striking between this feeble and pleasure-loving King and France of the sixteenth century rent asunder as it was by fierce party convulsions and in labour for liberty of conscience. Frankly Henry detested these quarrels about religion, not because he desired to end such strife and grant liberty of conscience, but because they interfered with his pleasures, and as he had no religion himself he sought to neutralise the influence of whichever party was in power at the time by favouring its rival. On his accession to the throne he found the political situation adverse to the Huguenot party, the Duke de Guise having inflicted a severe defeat on the reformers at the Battle of Dormans (1575). So Henry made some concessions to the Huguenots in the hope of pacifying them and perhaps inducing them to lay down their arms. As might be expected the Catholics were furious at this wobbling and combined in what was hereafter to be known as The Holy League. Henry, recognising that this combination was aimed largely at himself and his throne, promptly deserted the reformers and declared himself head of the League, thinking thereby to neutralise its evil effects. To celebrate this event a High Mass and solemn religious function was held at Notre Dame at which the King assisted most devoutly. Here Henry, after mumbling his orisons on a long rosary composed of miniature skulls, which he usually wore at his girdle, listened with exemplary patience to a long-winded diatribe against heresy. But it is also said that as he left the Cathedral he remarked with a sneer to his favourite the Duc de Joyeuse, as he twisted his rosary, 'This is the whip I shall use for my little Leaguers.'

In fact, unless he is grievously traduced, Henry was not merely an agnostic but actually a Satanist, as it is said his mother was before him. And this reputation is one of the things which later on conduced to the great troubles which befel him. A very rare tract dated 1589 is headed 'The Sorceries of Henry of Valois and the Oblations he made to the Devil in the Wood of Vincennes.' This extraordinary production states that there were discovered set up in a glade in the Forest of Vincennes two silver statues of satyrs each nearly

four feet high, whilst opposite to them stood a golden cross, in the middle of which was set a particle of wood, assumed to be a fragment of the true Cross, and lying beside the satyrs was found the tanned skin of a child, scored with cabalistic characters which suggested, so says the tract, that Henry III was worshipping Pan after the manner of the Egyptians. All these objects it is stated were confiscated by the magistrates of Paris.

In 1575 Henry married Louise de Lorraine, eldest daughter of the Duke de Mercœur by his first wife Marguerite d'Egmont, and for two years thereafter a precarious peace was patched up between the warring religious factions. But in 1577 the smouldering fire blazed up anew, only to be again stifled by a new treaty which accorded to the Huguenots liberty of conscience. And so for some years went on this pitiful game of religious see-saw: Henry now favouring the Huguenots, and anon making peace with the League as policy suggested or the exigencies of State demanded, and earning, of course, the hearty contempt of both.

But politics were not the only things that occupied the Royal mind during these years. For instance, at Shrovetide 1583 the King, accompanied by his infamous favourites (whom history has dishonoured by the name of 'mignons' and amongst whom were numbered Quelus, Maugison, St. Megrin, de Joyeuse, etc.), traversed the streets of Paris with wild cries and masked faces, indulging in a thousand insolences, and as night fell roved from house to house practising all sorts of hideous and absurd immoralities until the actual dawning of the first day of Lent. And this at a time when throughout France the peasantry, dying of hunger, went in troops into the fields to cut the half-ripe grain which they devoured on the spot, at the same time threatening the farm labourers that they would kill and eat them if they were not permitted to take the seeds of immature harvest.

But to return to Paris, Henry loved variety even in his dithyrambic sallies, and shortly after this date a chronicler tells us:

'The King took up the game of cup and ball with which he amused himself when walking through the streets accompanied by

a miscellaneous following of gentlemen pages and lackeys headed by his favourites the Dukes d'Espernon and de Joyeuse, all indulging in the same intellectual amusement as their leader. . . . This was greatly to the contempt of the more sober of the citizens.'

Meanwhile, in the nation things were going on from bad to worse with the effluxion of time. A French expedition to Flanders terminated in disaster. And the death of Henry's younger brother (Henry had no son) caused a new complication in the high politics of the distracted country by making the king's brother-in-law, Henry de Bourbon, King of Navarre (chief of the reformed party), heir-apparent to the throne of France. This gallant soldier, popularly known as the Bearnais, had married Marguerite de Valois, sister of the King, and was regarded with the utmost hatred by the party of the League, and especially by its leader the Duke de Guise, who recognised in him the most serious obstacle to the realisation of his own ambitious schemes.

Again the ever simmering civil discord broke out into flames. On Wednesday, October 20, 1587, was fought the Battle of Coutras which is thus described by a contemporaneous writer :

' Before entering the fight the King of Navarre and his followers prostrated themselves on the earth in prayer to God. On perceiving this the Duke de Joyeuse who commanded for the League called out to M. de Lavardin—"The day is ours, Lavardin. See! already the curs are trembling with fear and are half beaten!" "Don't you be too sure of that," replied de Lavardin, "I know them better than you do. They fall on their knees and implore the Divine mercy before the attack, but when they come to the charge they shew themselves devils and lions, and then perhaps you'll remember what I told you." '

The event justified de Lavardin's fears. The army of the League was defeated with terrific slaughter the Duke de Joyeuse and his young brother Saint Saveur were among the slain, and the victorious army of the King of Navarre pursued the defeated Leaguers, cutting and thrusting at them as they fled, for eight or nine miles.

The Queen-Mother (Catherine de Medici) on hearing the

news exclaimed, her voice choked with tears, that for twenty-five years no battle had been so fatal to the gentlemen of France as the terrible day of Coutras. As for the King he mourned for all his dead nobles save his mignon the Duke de Joyeuse whom he shrewdly suspected of treason. As for the Cardinal de Bourbon, uncle of Henry of Navarre, he wept like a calf, so fired was he with zeal for the League, and exclaimed he wished his nephew lay on the field instead of de Joyeuse. The King of France on hearing this said with thinly veiled sarcasm, 'The wish was worthy of so good a man.' Probably the wish was very sincere, for the death of the King of Navarre would have made the Cardinal de Bourbon heir to the throne of France.

But success did not always crown the arms of the Huguenots, and the Leaguers when victorious are said to have committed horrible atrocities. Early in 1587 news was received in Paris of the defeat of four or five hundred Huguenots near St. Maixant by the forces of the League under the Duke de Joyeuse who was, as we have seen, afterwards killed at Coutras. The Huguenots surrendered upon a solemn promise that their lives should be spared. But de Joyeuse immediately after the surrender ordered all their throats to be cut. You see 'scraps of paper' are not modern inventions, nor are they confined to the Germanic races. A contemporary writer speaking of the Leaguers says :

'On Friday, July 7, 1589, some troops of the League stormed Villeneuve Saint George and practised a thousand brutalities on the unfortunate inhabitants. There was neither order nor discipline in the victorious forces of the Duke de Mayenne, nor any appearance of religion. For though they called themselves Catholics they thought nothing of eating meat in public on fast days. And in further proof of their impiety, they compelled the priests, by holding knives at their throats, to baptise as they called it calves, sheep, pigs, etc., with the names of fish such as carp, pike, barbel, eels, etc., in order to render them suitable viands for days of abstinence.'

Treason now stalked almost openly through the streets of Paris as well as in the provinces. On Wednesday,

November 24, 1587, the Duke de Guise surprised the Huguenots at the little town of d'Aneau, killed them in vast numbers, and took great booty. When news of this triumph reached Paris, an oratorical preacher exclaimed in his sermon, 'Saul has slain thousands, but David his tens of thousands.' Commenting on which l'Estoile says drily of Henry III, 'but the King was by no means pleased.'

In 1589 the League headed by Henry, Duke de Guise, openly took up arms against the King with the avowed object of wresting the sceptre from his nerveless hand, they declared him a traitor to his country and a recreant from the faith of his fathers. Paris threw open its gates to the rebels and acclaimed de Guise as champion of the Catholic faith. This unfurling of the standard of rebellion was followed by the notorious Day of the Barricades. On this day the turbulent burghers piled up huge mounds in the streets and fastened chains across the thoroughfares to prevent the Royal troops from entering the city, with the result that in the end the King was forced to fly for his life to Chartres. The Catholic preachers in their sermons made a thousand injurious remarks about the absent monarch.

'This scurvy scoundrel [said Boucher] always has a Turkish turban on his head which he never doffs even at the Holy Sacrament in honour of Jesus Christ, and when the consummate hypocrite pretends to attack the enemies of the Church he puts on a fur-lined German cloak trimmed with silver which shows the secret intelligence he has with those black fiends of Lutherans. To sum up, Henry is a Turk in the head, a German in the body, a harpy in the hands, an Englishman at the garters, a Pole at the feet, and an absolute devil at heart.'

At the last moment when success seemed assured and the fair fruit of Empire but waited to be plucked, Henry de Guise faltered, and instead of grasping the prize made reluctant but unmistakable overtures to the King. He demanded that the latter should summon the Estates, and that their decision as to the sovereignty should be final. The King immediately acquiesced, and with a complaisance which, coming from a Valois, should have alarmed the Duke, agreed to everything.

As Charles IX behaved before the murder of Admiral Coligny, so behaved Henry III to the Duke de Guise. A reconciliation immediately took place, the King and the Duke were inseparable, and at the meeting of the Estates the two were always together. And though the general trend of opinion at the assembly was unfavourable to the King, nothing could be more urbane and friendly than his manner to his formidable rival.

On Tuesday, December 22, 1588, the Duke de Guise on sitting down to table found in his napkin a note on which was written, 'Take care. Someone is going to do you an ill turn.' He got up with an uneasy air, but immediately sat down again remarking 'They would not dare to attempt anything,' and went on with his meal. His cousin the Duke d'Eboeuf also warned him of his peril and besought him to take precautions, a soothsayer having said December was bad for his health. Laughingly the Duke replied, 'I see well you regard your almanacks. The calendars throughout the year have been stuffed full of fearful threats.' De Guise nevertheless seemed very nervous and went to bed early, as he had caught a slight cold which rather affected his throat. Altogether he was disquieted and apprehensive, perhaps who can say 'if there be fluids, as we know there are, which conscious of a coming wind, or rain, or frost, will shrink and strive to hide themselves in their glass arteries; may not that subtle liquor of the blood perceive, by properties within itself, that hands are raised to waste and spill it?'

In any case the little cloud no bigger than a man's hand which was so soon to shroud in impenetrable shadows the destinies of this ambitious and arrogant prince was that evening already materializing on the horizon of his life with all its past glories and achievements. And if glory show to small advantage in the night upon a stricken battle-field, what can be said of glory's bastard brother murder, whose dripping fingers were so soon to settle the account?

Next morning, Wednesday, December 23, the King sent a special message to the Duke requesting him to come to the palace as soon as possible as he had matters of great importance to discuss with him before the sitting of the Estates.

The Duke upon receiving the Royal command immediately repaired to the palace. Upon entering the hall his nose bled profusely and tears dropped from his right eye. A spasm of the heart to which he was subject suddenly seized him, compelling him to rest for a few minutes. But after taking some preserved prunes which his doctor had recommended as a palliative he felt better and remarked gaily 'This is the ninth warning.'

Upon entering the Royal ante-room a sentinel who was in the gallery shut the door after him, and as he crossed the threshold just by the entrance to the presence-chamber, the *Sieur de Montsery* stabbed him in the side crying 'Traitor, thou shalt die.' At the same instant the *Sieur de Saint Malines* plunged a dagger into his chest and the *Sieur de Loignac* ran his sword through his reins.

As he fell mortally wounded he cried 'Help! Help!! My God! My God!!! have mercy on me and pardon my sins.' A dirty carpet was thrown over his body, leaving the head exposed, and as the King came out of his cabinet he kicked him in the face. The day following the Duke's brother, the *Cardinal de Guise*, was executed or rather murdered by the order of Henry, and on Christmas Eve, 1588, by Royal command the bodies of both were cut in pieces, burnt to ashes, and cast to the winds. So perished the heads of the House of Lorraine.

On January 30, 1589, a solemn requiem service took place at Notre Dame, at which the Duke and Cardinal were hailed by the immense audience as saints and martyrs.

On February 7, the posthumous son of the Duke was carried from the *Hôtel de Guise* to the Church of St. Jean-en-Grave and was then christened Francis, the sponsors of the child being the City of Paris and the *Duchesse d'Aumale*.

Early in the July following, Henry, who was then at Estampes, received the news of his excommunication by the fiery Pontiff Sixtus V. But like other monarchs, notably some of our own Kings, the ecclesiastical thunders of Rome were unaccompanied by earthly disaster. The two excommunicated Kings, Henry of France and Henry of Navarre, who had now entered into a close alliance, marched northward

at the head of a large Huguenot army with the capital for its objective. And near the end of July 1589 the astonished citizens of Paris found the city closely invested by the forces of the two monarchs. It is stated that Henry, looking out of a window at the roofs of his rebellious capital, said ‘ ’Tis a very great pity to ruin so fair and noble a city, but I must show the traitors who is master and in a few days I shall have them on the knees begging for mercy.’

But the proposals of man have not always the sanctions of heaven. On Wednesday, August 1, 1589, at eight o'clock in the morning a young Dominican monk named Jacques Clement, born in a little village near Sens, arrived with despatches from the Count of Brienne to the Court, and presenting himself at Henry's headquarters, begged for an audience, stating that in addition to the letters he had a secret message of the utmost importance to convey to the King. Henry, who had only just risen from bed and was robed in his dressing-gown, upon hearing his guards refuse the messenger admittance rather peremptorily ordered them to send him in.

The young monk hastily entered, presented his despatches, and making a profound bow to the King, who rose to meet him, swiftly drew a knife from his sleeve and stabbed Henry in the abdomen. The King sprang forward and striking his assassin a blow on the temple felled him to the ground, crying as he did so, ‘ Ah! Ah!! this wicked monk has slain me. Kill him! Kill him!! ’ The guards rushing in found Clement lying prone at the feet of Henry, and deeming him a soldier in disguise at once killed and stripped him half naked.

The next day, August 2, at two o'clock in the morning, died Henry III of France, the last of the Valois. The body of the dead assassin was torn in pieces by four horses and his remains burnt and scattered to the winds by order of his brother-in-law, Henry of Bourbon, fourth of that name, King of France and Navarre, who ascended the throne on August 2, 1589.

The French Refugees at the Cape

The French Refugees at the Cape. By Colin Graham Botha (of the Cape Archives). Cape Town, 1919.

It is extremely fortunate that two such able successors have donned the mantle fallen from the shoulders of the late Mr. C. C. de Villiers in elucidating the early history of the settlement of Huguenots at the Cape in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Only individuals on the spot, with a genius for research work and a knowledge of French and Dutch, leisure and facilities for studying the archives of the Dutch East India Company and private documents from which items of information may be gleaned, as well as keenness and unlimited patience, could hope to take up his parable with any success.

For six years before his death, in 1887, Mr. de Villiers devotedly collected materials for a history of all the oldest Cape families, making endless researches in public and private registers and documents of all kinds to that end, but he was not spared to arrange for publication more than a comparatively small portion of the results. Being himself descended from Pierre de Villiers, a refugee from La Rochelle to Holland in 1685, and thence to the Cape in 1689, he had a special interest in the Huguenots.

Four large sheets of the facsimile signatures, dating from 1658 to 1780, and 568 in number, of the original settlers were published by his firm in 1886, those of some 50 Huguenots being depicted in the first one of the series. Of these our Society has a copy.

An instalment of his Notes too was printed in Vol. V, No. 2, of the *Proceedings*, together with a paper read on January 9, 1895, with a view to getting the subject taken up

and worked out thoroughly as the then Honorary Secretary, Mr. R. S. Faber, had long wished it to be.

Also his *Geslacht-Register der Oude Kaapsche Familien* was published by his firm, Messrs. Van de Sandt de Villiers & Co., Cape Town, posthumously.

His voluminous notes and papers were fortunately confided to the care of the late Dr. G. McCall Theal, and enabled him to embody in his *History of South Africa* (Swan Sonnenschein & Co., London) a large amount of most interesting matter concerning the Huguenot settlers there.

The recent publication of far fuller information in the book under notice is exceedingly welcome, for it adds considerably to our knowledge of this subject, which so far has scarcely seemed to have met with the attention which it merits at the hands of our Society. It is surely of great interest to know as much as it is now possible to learn about the circumstances under which the French forefathers of so many families and personalities distinguished in such various ways in South African and Imperial politics, etc., first arrived in Table Bay, and their subsequent history. And this not only to those actually related to them by birth, but to all interested in Huguenot research generally. Their advent was of great importance to the Colony in many ways, while their names and some of their characteristics are perpetuated in all parts of our Dominions of the present day.

A graphic account is given of how seven Dutch East India-men brought out most of the *émigrés* in 1688 and 1689, and how others arrived in quite small batches from time to time for several years. The vessels in those days were very small—from 115 to 160 feet long—and took anything from two to six months over the voyage, so that the dangers from shipwreck, pirates, and decimation by scurvy were very great.

As several of the lists of passengers cannot be traced it is impossible to calculate exactly how many embarked, or how many came to land and survived. The mortality on and soon after the voyage was great, but in 1890 the names of 176 are given in the Cape records as then living in the Colony.

Some were located near Stellenbosch, but most of them

at Drakenstein and French Hock, in a beautiful but quite wild country, where, like pioneers of all ages, they had to face dangers from wild beasts—lions, leopards, and elephants—the natives, and the failure of crops. They were kindly provided with tools, farm implements, and cattle to start with, their value to be refunded subsequently, and soon after with pecuniary assistance, which almost all needed.

The main object of the Dutch at that time was to maintain merely a refreshment station for revictualling their East Indiamen, but by degrees it became a colony, a fusion of the French with the Dutch was effected, and in the latter half of the eighteenth century the French language practically died out. Many of the old names of their farms, however, survive to this day, and thousands of people in the Dominion still bear the names of the original refugees, though, as in other countries, many have been either translated or so changed in spelling and pronunciation as to be scarcely recognisable.

The facsimile signatures of 54 refugees are reproduced in Mr. Botha's book, and revised and enlarged lists given of the arrivals: (1) 1688–1700, (2) before 1688, and (3) after 1700, (4) those in the service of the Dutch East India Company in 1687 and later, and (5) the provinces and towns in France from which many are known to have fled. Extracts from Church and Deeds Office registers, from the Resolutions of the Assembly of XVII, and many relevant letters, complete a most interesting book, which has a useful index, and two maps to illustrate it.

Only those who have tried their hand at such work can estimate the labour and time which must have been devoted to compiling such a book, and it should be widely appreciated. We may perhaps be permitted to hope that it may be the means of bringing to light further documents which have not yet been exploited; also that Mr. Botha or others may be able to obtain in time additional information about the various families before they were forced to flee from France.

W. H. HINDE,

Lt.-Col. late R.E.

Miscellanea.

I. VAILLANT MEMORIAL TABLET IN THE CHAPEL ROYAL, SAVOY.



Sacred to the memory of François Vaillant and Jacqueline Guillemain his wife, who, upon the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV in 1685, fled from Saumur in Anjou, for conscience sake, with their five children—Paul, François, Isaac, Susanne, and Marie—and settled, in 1686, in the Strand, opposite to Bedford House now Southampton Street, in the Parish of St. Clement Danes. Their house adjoined the precincts of the Savoy and was one of four with gardens and was numbered 87 being the third house from Cecil Street in the detached portion of St. Clement Danes. François Vaillant was the second son of Paul Vaillant of Paris and Sara Pinot his wife, and was born in Paris in 1643. He lived at Saumur from 1666 to 1685 and was married there 26 April 1668. They, together with their five children, were granted Letters of Denization 15 April 1687. François Vaillant was buried in this Churchyard of the Chapel Royal of St. John Baptist Savoy near his wife Jacqueline 20 February 1720—1 aged 77.

Susanne Vaillant was married to Nicholas Prevost (prob. of Honfleur) in this Chapel Royal of St. John Baptist 31 May 1696; and their son, Isaac Prevost, was baptized here 11 December 1709. Nicholas Prevost was buried here 23 June 1748 aged 75. His wife Susanne was buried here 20 February 1749—50 aged 80.

Marie Vaillant was married to Jean Marchant of St. Ann's Blackfriars at l'Eglise Française de la Savoie, Strand 6 January 1703-4.

Paul Vaillant married first, Joyce Hawtayne, eldest daughter of the Rev. William Hawtayne, Rector of Farthinghoe, at the Royal Chapel of the Bridewell Hospital 26 July 1704; and, secondly, Françoise Motet, fifth daughter of Daniel Motet and Louise Allotte his wife both Huguenots of Loudun, Poitou, and of St. Peter's Cornhill, at All Hallows, London Wall 29 September 1714.

François Vaillant married Catherine Pearson at St. Paul's, Covent Garden 30 August 1705, whose third son Francis was buried here 12 March 1712 aged 14 months.

Isaac Vaillant married, first, Marie Belin, daughter of Jean Belin of La Rochelle and of Esther Boudinot his wife of Marans in Aunis, at l'Eglise Française de la Savoie, Strand 14 February 1705-6; and, secondly, Sarah Angle, second daughter of Nathaniel Angle and of Elizabeth Hale his wife of Little Stanmore, at St. George's Chapel, May Fair 30 March 1750.

There is no man that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for My sake, and the Gospel's, but he shall receive an hundred-fold now in this time, . . . with persecutions; and in the world to come eternal life.—*St. Mark X*, 29, 30.

Cœur vaillant se fait royaume.

(Communicated by REV. W. B. VAILLANT.)

II. THE SILVER OAR AT CORK.

THIS emblem of civic authority is now the property of the Cork Harbour Commissioners, and in the custody of the Harbour Master in his capacity of Portreeve or Water Bailiff of the Harbour.

It is exhibited whenever he is called upon to place a writ upon a ship or prevent a vessel from sailing.

It is 21 inches long, beautifully fashioned, and of an antique pattern, having a short, broad blade. The blade is 5 inches long by 2 inches wide.

It is pronounced by a competent authority to be the work of M. Goble, a celebrated Huguenot silversmith, who came to reside in Cork some time after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. He died there, and is buried in the Huguenot Church burial-place in French Church Street.

The blade is chased and engraved, bearing upon one side the Cork arms, and on the other the Royal arms, shield-shaped, and surmounted by a monogram 'W. & M.' over two R's, each covered by a crown. This, of course, means William and Mary, Rex and Regina, and shows that it was apparently presented to Cork before Queen Mary's death in 1694.

In the *Annals of Cork* there is a marginal note on p. 25 as follows :

1686. Water Bailiff's Oar, 17 ozs. 5s. 3d..	£3	13	6
Making and engraving	.	.	1 15 0

This would indicate that the Oar dates from before the abdication of James II, and be at variance with the monogram and double crown and the details of the Royal arms. We find quartered with the leopards of England the fleur-de-lis of France, while in the centre the lion of Nassau or of the Netherlands is imposed on the shield, and this lion was only placed on the Royal arms during the reign of William III.

Apparently the order was given in 1686 and the cost accounted for, but the Oar was not completed by M. Goble until after James II was replaced by William and Mary.

(Communicated by W. J. L'AMIE.)

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1922

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON

VOL. XII. No. 4



THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON

MEETINGS OF THE SESSION 1920-21.

FIRST ORDINARY MEETING, *Wednesday, November 10, 1920*, held at the Hôtel Russell, W.C. WYATT WYATT-PAINE, Esq., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Annual Meeting held on May 12 were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :

Charles Riviere Bland, Esq., Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

William Rebotier Aveline, Esq., O.B.E., Greengates, Carshalton, Surrey.

Miss Alice Mary Leigh, Cleveland, Bouldnor, Yarmouth, Isle of Wight.

Miss Hilda M. Fountain, Levana, Wimbledon Park, S.W. 19.

John Stuart Ellis de Vesian, Esq., 19 Walpole Road, Surbiton, Surrey.

Captain L. C. Shoppee, R.A.F., 1 Trinity Villas, Folkestone.

Miss Elizabeth Courtauld, M.D., Don Johns, Earl's Colne, Essex.

Mrs. Gertrude Annie Turquand, M.B.E., Moor Cottage, Moor Lane, Staines, Middlesex.

Colin Graham Botha, Esq., Chief Archivist for the Union of South Africa, Cape Town, South Africa.

Mr. T. P. Le Fanu, C.B., read a Paper entitled ' Archbishop Marsh and the Discipline of the French Church of St. Patrick's, Dublin, 1694.'

SECOND ORDINARY MEETING, *Wednesday, January 12, 1921*, held at the Hôtel Russell, W.C. WYATT WYATT-PAINE, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on November 10, 1920, were read and confirmed.

A Paper on 'The Early Protestant Refugees in the Channel Islands' was read by Mr. Francis O. Rybot.

THIRD ORDINARY MEETING, *Wednesday, March 9, 1921*, held at the Hôtel Russell, W.C. WYATT WYATT-PAINE, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on January 12 were read and confirmed.

Miss Mary Louisa Du Cane, Oakfield, Hatfield Heath, Harlow, Essex, was elected a Fellow of the Society.

A Paper entitled 'Reformation' was read by Mr. William Minet, F.S.A.

THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, *Wednesday, May 11, 1921*, held at the Hôtel Russell, W.C. WYATT WYATT-PAINE, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on March 9 were read and confirmed.

Mrs. Annie Clementina Hart-Davis, Lady of Grace of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, 21 Portman Mansions, W. 1, was elected a Fellow of the Society.

The Annual Report of the Council was read as follows:—

Report of Council to the Thirty-seventh Annual General Meeting of the Huguenot Society of London.

The Council has to report that during the past year the Society has lost six Fellows by death and twelve by resignation. Eleven new Fellows have been elected during the Session, and one Fellow, whose resignation had been presumed during the war, has rejoined upon payment of arrears of subscription. Thus the net loss to the Society during the year has been six.

The Treasurer's audited Accounts for the year 1920, which are appended to this Report, show a balance of £189 10s. 11d. in the Income and Expenditure Account. With the Accounts is a Memorandum in which the effect of the late troubles on the Society's position, and the results of the efforts which have been made during the past year to meet that effect, are estimated.

Whilst the Council is generally satisfied with those results, it desires to point out that a very considerable loss in the Society's former numbers has been incurred during the war period and since by deaths and resignations, and urges all Fellows to help to make good that loss by proposing eligible candidates for the Fellowship of the Society. This is especially necessary in view of the present high prices in the printing trade if the Society is to maintain its publishing work at anything like its former standard, for, although those prices may be expected to decline somewhat in the future, it is likely to be many years, if ever, before they fall to their pre-war level.

During the year No. 2 of Vol. XII of the *Proceedings*, containing the papers read during the Session 1918-19, has been issued. No. 3 of the same volume, containing the proceedings for the Session 1919-20, is now in hand, and will be issued during the year.

Vol. XXIV of the quarto publications, containing the *Lists of Naturalizations of Foreign Protestants in the American Colonies* made under an Act of Parliament of the reign of George II, has recently been issued. Another volume containing the *Register of the Carré and Berwick Street French Church* is now in its final stages in the press and will be issued shortly. Progress has also been made on the volume of *Denizations and Naturalizations of Aliens in England and Ireland between the years 1701 and 1800*, and it is hoped that it also will be completed during the year. *The Registers of the Savoy and Les Grecs French Churches* are ready for printing, and will be proceeded with as soon as practicable.

The Huguenot War Record, 1914-1919, has now been closed, and the Council has had under consideration the best means of putting on permanent record the returns, over five hundred in number, which have been received.

Owing to absence in India, Colonel Pitcher, the Honorary Secretary, has been unable to continue his work for the Society during the greater part of the Session, but it is hoped that he will be back again in England some time during the ensuing Session. The Council has again to tender the grateful thanks of the Society to Mr. A. Hervé Browning, its Honorary Treasurer, for his devoted services during the past year, and also to Mr. William Minet and Mr. Harley M. Grellier, the Honorary Auditors, for their services.

Memorandum to Treasurer's Account.

The time has now arrived when it is possible to estimate both the effect of the late troubles on our position and the result of the efforts we have made to meet that effect.

Societies such as ours exist largely for printing, the cost of which rose to and remains at such a figure that this branch of our work was necessarily curtailed. The only way in which the difficulty could be met was by an appeal to our Fellows (1) to increase their subscriptions ; (2) to add where applicable to what has already been paid as Composition ; (3) to subscribe a fund which should be invested. The three branches of this appeal have produced so far (1) 124 subscriptions increased by 50 per cent. ; (2) Compositions increased by £84 16s. ; (3) subscribed to Endowment Fund, £102 7s. 6d. The last two invested add £10 15s., and the first, increased subscriptions, adds £65 2s. to our income. To swell the total comes a further gift of £10 a year for five years, so that our income is now £85 17s. more than it was. This amount will go some way towards meeting the increased cost of printing.

Unable to publish as usual, we carried at the end of the two years 1918 and 1919 the surplus of income over expenditure to a suspense account which, in 1920, amounted to £300 12s. Of this, as the accounts show, £180 was last year applied to printing some of the work which should have been issued to the Fellows long ago, leaving £120 12s. available for some of the rest of it, which is, unfortunately, the qualified phrase we must use.

In finance, above all, it is both necessary and satisfactory

Expenditure.

1920.	Dr.	£ s. d.	1920.	Cr.	£ s. d.
To Publications	.	88 16 2	By Subscriptions	.	301 17 0
" Salaries	.	65 5 0	" Entrance Fees	.	23 2 0
" Printing and Stationery	.	34 2 1	" Sale of Publications	.	8 4 6
" Sundries	.	30 5 6	" Interest	.	64 16 2
" Balance	.	189 10 11	" Special Donation	.	10 0 0
		<u>£407 19 8</u>			<u>£407 19 8</u>

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31, 1920.

Liabilities.			Assets.		
1920.	Dr.	£ s. d.	1920.	Cr.	£ s. d.
To Composition Fees Capital	.	1476 1 0	By Investments, namely:		
" Browning Fund Capital	.	100 0 0	On Composition Fees Fund Account		
" Browning Fund Income:		£ s. d.	£1139 4s. 10d. Five Per Cent.	£ s. d.	
Balance brought forward	.	24 17 1	War Stock 1929-47	.	1438 10 0
Interest added in 1920	.	3 15 2	On General Fund Account		
		<u>28 12 3</u>	£329 7s. 3d. Five Per Cent.		
" Subscriptions paid in advance	.	5 5 0	War Stock 1929-47	.	301 6 6 ¹
" Special Donation for 1921-2-3-4 paid			£100 Five-and-Three-Quarter		
in advance	.	40 0 0	Per Cent. Exchequer Bonds 1925	100 0 0	
		<u>45 5 0</u>	£200 On Deposit Account at		
" Publications Suspense Account:			Bank	.	200 0 0
Balance brought forward	.	300 12 0	On Browning Fund Account		
Less paid on account	.	180 0 0	£105 5s. 3d. Five Per Cent.		
		<u>120 12 0</u>	War Stock 1929-47	.	100 0 0
" Balance brought forward	.	349 11 9			<u>2139 16 6²</u>
Less irrevocable	.	8 8 0	" Subscriptions and Entrance Fees in		
		<u>341 3 9</u>	arrears	.	18 7 6
Add received for Endowment Fund 102	7 6		" Cash at Bank:		
Add balance from Income and			Browning Fund	.	28 12 3
Expenditure Account	.	189 10 11	General Fund	.	216 16 2
		<u>633 2 2</u>			<u>245 8 5</u>
		<u>£2403 12 5</u>			<u>£2403 12 5</u>

¹ Includes £101 6s. 6d. of Endowment Fund, invested in £118 16s. 9d. Five Per Cent. War Stock 1929-47.
² Worth on Dec. 31, 1920, @ middle prices, £1596 18s. 10d.

Audited and found correct.

WILLIAM MINET.
 HARLEY M. GRELLIER.

A. HERVÉ BROWNING,
 Treasurer.

May 4, 1921.

to know exactly where we stand. A rough estimate would seem to show that in future years there will be some £350 a year available for printing. This exceeds our previous printing costs by nearly £90 and will enable us to do a good deal, though not all, of what we used to do. Anyhow, let us congratulate ourselves that we have weathered the storm and can now plot out our future with some assurance.

The Ballot was taken for the Officers and Council for the ensuing year, with the following result :—

Officers and Council for the year May 1921 to May 1922.

President.—Wyatt Wyatt-Paine, F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents.—The Right Hon. The Earl of Radnor ; George Beaumont Beeman ; Sir James Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I. ; William Minet, F.S.A. ; Sir William Wyndham Portal, Bart., F.S.A. ; Reginald St. Aubyn Roumieu ; Charles Poyntz Stewart, F.S.A.Scot.

Treasurer.—Arthur Hervé Browning.

Honorary Secretary.—Colonel Duncan George Pitcher.

Members of Council.—Richard Arthur Austen-Leigh ; Henry Martyn Cadman-Jones ; Thomas Colyer Colyer-Fergusson ; Sir W. Everard B. ffolkes, Bart. ; Francis de Havilland Hall, M.D., F.R.C.P. ; Edward Heathcote Lefroy ; E. Sydney Luard ; Robert Alfred McCall, K.C. ; W. H. Manchée ; Lieut.-Col. Sir Alexander Brooke Pechell, Bart., R.A.M.C. ; Samuel Romilly Roget, A.M.Inst.C.E., A.M.I.E.E. ; Francis Oliver Rybot.

The President then read his Address as follows :—

ADDRESS TO THE THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
OF THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON, BY WYATT
WYATT-PAINE, F.S.A., PRESIDENT.

THIS is the particular meeting at which, in commercial parlance, we take stock of the affairs of the Society. In twentieth-century commercialism the annual overhauling of goods is generally preceded by a feverish attempt on the part of the trader to liquidate his stocks of the commodities in which he

deals by offering especial inducements to the purchasing public, and thus aid him to dispose of his more unsaleable wares and at the same time increase his cash balance (if any) at his bankers. And these especial inducements, so far as I am able to judge from the sanguine-hued tickets displayed in the shop windows, always include certain eccentricities of language calculated to catch the female mind, such as 'highly unique' or the 'latest creation,' and invariably terminate with something and eleven pence three farthings in a particularly unassuming type.

But with us these things are not so. The commodities in which this Society deals possess unusual characteristics which are not ordinarily appraised in any Market Hall, or discussed in any Chamber of Commerce. Yet, nevertheless, they are of exceeding value, comprising as they do certain of the peculiar gifts bestowed upon man by his Creator. I am sure no one of us can fail to recognise that, after all, the great compelling forces of this world, such as the Loves of Liberty, of Honour, and of Religious Freedom, are not things which can be estimated in the sterling of any earthly mint, or are capable of demonstration by any mathematical formula. And yet, although the Love of Liberty, the Love of Honour, the Love of Religious Freedom, being qualities imponderable, are subject to no Newtonian Law of Gravitation and, being all-pervasive, know no Einstein Theory of Limitation, in spite, or perhaps because of the lack, of these qualities, and also in spite of the fact that they are alike illogical to the mundane logician and incapable of apprehension by the reason of the materialist—for not in cold logic does it please God that His people should find salvation—they are nevertheless all potent and form not only the common bond of union, but also the principal stock-in-trade of a Society like this, composed as it is of the descendants of those who counted not their lives dear to them in comparison with freedom to worship according to the faith of their fathers.

And now, having specified some of the particular wares in which we as an Association deal, I have to discuss the material position of the Huguenot Society of London. And I think the Fellows have reasonable grounds for satisfaction

at the report of the Council. In common with all learned and quasi-learned Societies (and I for one am certainly disposed to place this Society in the category of learned Societies), we have passed and are passing through very troublous times, and as a result fatal necessity (which is not invariably a tyrant's plea) has compelled us to raise our annual subscription. Yet in spite of this unpleasant incident, I am extremely pleased to inform you that very few of the Fellows of long standing, with whom, of course, the payment of an enhanced subscription was entirely optional, have failed generously to respond to the small increase which was essential in order to maintain the continuance of the useful work of our Association, the finances of which, I am glad to tell you, are, considering all things, in a satisfactory condition. The meetings of the Society have, throughout the Session, been held at the Hôtel Russell, and the attendance of Fellows at the lectures has been fairly well maintained.

There has, however, been some falling-off in the number of dining members. And in this connection I venture to express the hope that the social side of the meetings of a Society which owes one of its great charms to community of race and sentiment, as well as to community of aspirations and religious belief, will not be allowed permanently to grow less, but will again revive and perhaps develop in fresh directions which may attract new members and revivify us all with an infusion of younger blood.

For the continued material prosperity of the Society, to which I have referred, we owe much to our Treasurer, Mr. Hervé Browning, and to our excellent Assistant Secretary, Mr. Giuseppi, who during the prolonged absence of our Secretary, Colonel Pitcher (whose letters show he has not forgotten us), has carried on not only with commendable industry, but also with conspicuous capacity, the multifarious duties which in the ordinary course would have been divided between Colonel Pitcher and himself, and I suggest that special thanks should be accorded to both Mr. Hervé Browning and Mr. Giuseppi.

The lectures read at the meetings of the Society have been replete with interest and were in each case followed by discussion.

On November 10, 1920, Mr. T. P. Le Fanu, C.B., read a Paper on 'Archbishop Narcissus Marsh and the Discipline of the French Church of St. Patrick's, Dublin, 1694.'

On January 12, 1921, Mr. Francis Oliver Rybot gave a very entertaining account of 'The Early Protestant Refugees in the Channel Islands.'

And on March 9, 1921, Mr. Wm. Minet gave the Society a philosophical dissertation on 'Reformation.' And of philosophy when inspired by Urania, as this was, it may well be said with one of old time—

'How charming is Divine Philosophy—
Not harsh and crabbèd as dull fools suppose—
But musical as is Apollo's lute.'

And now, even though it may be regarded as a grave breach of decorum, I am going to tear asunder the veil that ordinarily shrouds the mysterious proceedings of your Council and disclose a dread secret which our worthy Assistant Secretary, Mr. Giuseppi, at one stage or another of the proceedings, at each meeting of the Council, invariably discloses to that august body. Well do I recognise the arrival of the fatal moment as, with a prefatory clearance of the throat to call especial attention to his remarks, he announces, while we listen with bated breath, that as usual Messrs. So & So, the printers, have given notice that their charges have further advanced by 10, or 20, or 30, or something even more appalling in the matter of piled-on percentage.

I think somebody has said: 'Now Barabbas was a Publisher'; and you must not forget that printing and publishing are cognate trades. Yet in spite of the high prices prevalent in the printing trade, the enormous increase in wages and the enhanced cost of materials, the Society's literary record for the Session 1920–1921 is more than respectable: it is satisfactory.

Volume XII (No. 2) of the *Proceedings* of the Society was issued in October 1920.

Volume XII (Part 3) is in active preparation, and will very shortly be in the hands of the Fellows.

Whilst as to quarto publications, Volume XXIV, being

the *Lists of Naturalizations of Foreign Protestants in the American Colonies*, made pursuant to the Statute 13 Geo. II, cap. 7, edited by Mr. M. S. Giuseppi, F.S.A., is already completed and was issued a short time ago to the Fellows.

Volume XXV, *Register of the Carré and Berwick Street French Church*, edited by Mr. W. Minet, F.S.A., and Miss Susan Minet, is also nearly ready.

Whilst the long-expected volume of *Naturalizations and Denizations in England and Ireland, 1701-1800*, edited by Dr. Shaw, will probably materialise before long.

And finally it is anticipated *The Registers of the Savoy and Les Grecs French Churches*, edited by Mr. W. Minet and Miss Minet (for whose indefatigable labours I am sure we are all much indebted), will very shortly be in the printers' hands.

So, ladies and gentlemen, you will see the literary activities of our Society (even if the reception of some of them by the Fellows is rather anticipatory than actual) have suffered no diminution during the past twelve months.

As regards the Huguenot War Record, the lists are now closed with the satisfactory result that over five hundred individual returns of the war services of Huguenot descendants have been received, and, in order to perpetuate these records, the Council has now under consideration a scheme for their permanent preservation.

With respect to contributions to the Library during the past year, the Society has been particularly indebted to Mr. Poyntz Stewart for his gift of a very valuable collection of books which are stored at *La Providence* French Hospital. This collection, numbering some 45 to 50 volumes, includes certain works of the greatest rarity and should prove a magazine of incalculable worth for the waging of polemic warfare, as several of the volumes tilt *à outrance* at the corruptions of doctrine and practice which disfigure that branch of the Church Catholic owning allegiance to the Bishop of Rome.

From certain corresponding Societies who interchange their proceedings and literature with our own, the following magazines have been received :

Société de l'Histoire Vaudoise (the numbers issued in May and December 1920).

Société Jersiaise, Bulletin 1920, and *Cartulaire de Jersey, Guernsey, etc.*, 1920.

Société de l'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève especially dealing with *Les Faubourgs de Genève au XVIème Siècle*.

Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français (a continuation of the earlier number of the Annual Bulletin of this Society).

A Dutch Society has also forwarded its magazine, and in connection with the protection afforded by Holland to Huguenot refugees in the times of persecution, I hope to say a few words later on.

But perhaps the most interesting contribution from affiliated Societies is that received from the Huguenot Society of Pennsylvania, which, though one of the youngest of Huguenot Associations, is full of that ardour which characterises adolescence. Our Secretary has received a letter from its Chairman, the Rev. John Baer Stoudt, suggesting the formation of an International Huguenot Society, or alternatively a Congress of Huguenot Societies, and the same enthusiastic gentleman is planning an American Huguenot Library which should be attached to the National Museum of History.

And now to return to matters more immediately germane to our own Society.

There have been eleven new Fellows elected to the Society during the Session, and in the same period we have lost by resignations twelve Members, and by death six, making a total net loss for the year of seven Fellows.

The following are some particulars respecting those Members who have passed from us by death :—

MAJOR EMILE JOSEPH FOUCAR, V.D., died June 10, 1920, aged 67 years. He was elected to the Society in March 1888, and was connected with the Huguenot families of Foucar, Le Faux, Apy, Achard, Roussilet, Garnier, and Privat. He was a brother of Alexander Louis Foucar, late one of the Society's honorary auditors, who died in 1919.

MISS ANNA MARIA CHABOT, who died July 14, 1920, in her seventy-ninth year. She was elected to the Society in November 1907, and was a very regular attendant at its

Meetings. By descent she was a member of the well-known family of Chabot, for many years connected with Spitalfields.

EDMUND BECKETT, First BARON FABER, died September 17, 1920, aged 73 years. He was elected to the Society in 1886, and was a descendant of the Huguenot family of de Dibon, and a cousin of the late Honorary Secretary of the Society.

MR. WEBSTER GLYNES, who joined us in 1902, also died last year.

ANDREW JAMES DE LA MARE, who died January 31, 1921. He was elected to the Society in May 1899, and was connected with the Huguenot families of de la Mare, Dupré, l'Epine, Freeret, and Lavotte.

MISS MARY HARRIETT GOSSET, who died March 16, 1921. She was elected to the Society in November 1885, and was connected with the Huguenot families of Gosset, Le Blanc or Le Blond, d'Allain, and Dumaresq.

Such, ladies and gentlemen, is a summary of the events which have happened in connection with our Society during the last twelve months. And now, if you will bear with me a little while longer, I should like to discuss in a succinct manner, as a sort of addendum to the list of corresponding Colonial and Foreign Huguenot Societies, to which I have already made some reference this evening, a résumé of the history and adventures of the early Huguenot settlers in South Africa. And for these particulars I am much indebted to the *History of South Africa*, by Dr. G. M. Theal (published in 1897), and to an account of *The French Refugees at the Cape*, by Mr. C. G. Botha (of the Cape Archives), published in 1919. It is not the first time that this subject has been laid before the Society. In 1895 a paper on the Huguenot Settlement at the Cape of Good Hope was read by Captain (now Lieut.-Col.) W. H. Hinde, R.E. But as twenty-six years have elapsed since that date I make no apologies for again referring to the subject.

South Africa in the seventeenth century, under the stern control of Commander, and afterwards Governor, Simon van der Stel, who ruled supreme from 1679 to 1699 as Colonial Representative of the Prince of Orange, their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, and the Dutch

East India Company, was a very different place indeed from the South Africa of to-day, where the latest Paris fashions vie with the other extravagances of our somewhat effete civilisation. The most prominent trait in the character of Simon van der Stel was his intense patriotism. In his eyes whatever was Dutch was good, and whatever was not Dutch imperfect and of negligible importance. In addition to this amiable weakness, he was by temperament a most autocratic person and a frank disbeliever in liberty and equality. When the incoming tide of prosperity increased the means of the colonists, some of their womenfolk went in for such a display of fashions and furbelows as obtained a stern rebuke from van der Stel, who flatly told them he didn't want any make-believe grandees in the colony which he administered, and promptly passed a stern and far-reaching sumptuary law forbidding (amongst other arbitrary provisions) the wives of mechanics from carrying sunshades, alleging that such a practice was too outrageous to be tolerated.

A similar rigidity of procedure prevailed throughout the regulation of affairs in the colony. The duties of each colonial servant, whether lay or clerical, were strictly defined, and wilful transgression, although prompted by zeal or urgent necessity, resulted in immediate dismissal or reduction in rank.

As an instance of the stringency of the rule in this respect, I take the following example from Mr. C. G. Botha's book on *The French Refugees at the Cape* :

In the days of Commander van Riebeeck the sick-comforter [which I take to be a kind of lay-preacher] at Drakenstein, Mr. Willem Barents Wylant, addressed his congregation in his own words [or "ex trumpety," as Mrs. Malaprop would say] instead of reading from a printed sermon as he was obliged to do. This came to the ears of the Batavian authorities as well as to the clergy there. Whereupon the ecclesiastical Court [which now, as then, is a very hide-bound and arbitrary tribunal with but little knowledge of, or respect for the law of evidence] laid a complaint before the Governor-General and Council stating that Mr. Wylant had transgressed the instructions laid down by the established authorities and had conducted the service in a manner permitted only to a minister. They wrote: "He ought to know that he may not strike his sickle in another's harvest, or usurp those functions which do not belong to him in consequence of his

not having the legal status. This we understand to be the will and commandment of our Lord Jesus." The Cape Commander thereupon remonstrated with the peccant sick-comforter, and ordered him henceforward to refrain from extempore exhortation, although Mr. Wylant pointed out in extenuation of his offence that the dereliction took place on account of his bad eye-sight, which had obliged him to learn the lessons by heart in order not to break down during the service, and that he had merely repeated the substance of the printed discourse without actually having the paper before him.

What an exemplification this tempest in a teacup is of that statement in Holy Writ that 'the letter killeth, it is the spirit that giveth life'!! Such were the stereotyped regulations in matters alike temporal and spiritual which bound the Colony in the seventeenth century.

Upon the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV in October 1685, Holland received an enormous influx of Protestant refugees from France. It is true the Ordinance of Louis XIV forbade Huguenots to emigrate, but this prohibition, in spite of its severity, and of the pains and penalties imposed in cases of evasion, failed to arrest the outflowing tide of the best and most industrious blood of France. As it was not possible to leave the country openly, all the belongings of the refugees, except money and jewels, were abandoned by them, and in various disguises they fled over the frontier in utter destitution so far as worldly wealth was concerned.

They at least were not guilty of that all too-prevalent sin of Judas which induces men not so much to disbelieve their Christ as to sell Him. At this time Holland was at the height of her maritime power and, like Venice, 'held the gorgeous East in fee,' and the Cape of Good Hope was a sort of half-way house or jumping-off place between the Indies and Amsterdam. The Cape, as I have already said, was a Dutch dependency, and the influx of refugees from France suggested to their High Mightinesses that they would make excellent colonists for South Africa. Amongst the Huguenots were a number of skilled vine-growers and brandy distillers, and these husbandmen the shrewd commercial instincts of the Dutch, who then, as now, were proverbial for giving too little and

asking too much, regarded as likely to afford most useful assistance in furthering the prosperity of the new colony, which was already regarded in Holland as likely to prove a very valuable property. Viticulture had already been tried by the Dutch, but with very qualified success, and the Directors of the Company hoped that the expatriated Frenchmen would supply the technical knowledge which the Dutch colonists lacked in the manufacture of wine and brandy and the cultivation of the olive. It is stated that at this period the African vine bore grapes equal in flavour to any in the world, but that the wine manufactured from them was detestable to the palate and often quite undrinkable ; and that though the olive tree grew wild in the country and the varieties introduced from other lands flourished exceedingly as trees, they did not produce any olives, which after all is the chief reason for cultivating so unsightly a tree.

It was therefore hoped by the sanguine Dutchmen that the trifling arboreal disadvantages which I have specified might be corrected by the skill of the Huguenots. So South Africa was depicted as a very valley of Eshcol, a land of milk and honey, and a number of French refugees were induced to offer themselves as colonists. Prior to departure they were, however, required to take the oath of allegiance to the States, and in November 1687 the Directorate of the Dutch East India Company wrote to Simon van der Stel informing him that arrangements were being made to send over several shiploads of French Protestant refugees, who were to be accompanied by the Rev. Pierre Simond, a minister of their faith, who was to be remunerated for his services by a salary of £7 10s. per mensem.

One of the most pathetic incidents of the Huguenot flight from France was the small number of women and children who succeeded in escaping when compared with that of young and stalwart men, though the prisons and convents of France could tell what became of the female martyrs of the faith. And this disproportion of the sexes was just what the Dutch East India Company wished to avoid, although for the purposes of colonisation, and especially for husbandry, the men made excellent pioneers. The emigrants (one batch of whom at

the last moment refused to go because of their aversion from the sea and the long voyage), who numbered among themselves several noblemen of ancient lineage, though now penniless, set out from Holland in five vessels. These ships were named respectively the *Voorschaten*, the *Borssenburg*, the *Osterland*, the *China*, and the *Zuid Beveland*. Very different was the voyage in the seventeenth century from that on board one of the ocean greyhounds of to-day. The ships were small, cranky, the accommodation execrable, the water supply scanty and musty from keeping in barrels, the food bad, the biscuit weevily, and junk boiled in salt water the only animal food, whilst among the passengers and crew sickness and scurvy prevailed. Above all, the voyage was of almost interminable length. Thus the *Voorschaten* set out from Delftshaven on December 31, 1687, and arrived at Saldanha Bay on April 13, 1688, having been compelled to put into that harbour on account of a strong gale against which she could not beat up to Table Bay. The quickest run was that of the *Osterland*, which made the passage from Middelburg to Table Bay in eighty-seven days, quite a record at that period. The *China* had a most disastrous voyage of seven months from Rotterdam to the Cape. Crew and passengers were alike stricken down by sickness, and twenty persons (twelve of whom were French refugees) died on the voyage. On August 19, 1688, the *Zuid Beveland*, amongst whose passengers were Pierre Simond of Dauphiné, Minister of the Gospel, and Anne de Berout, his wife, cast anchor in Table Bay. The arrival of their pastor had been eagerly looked forward to by the Huguenots who had preceded him, for, though the Dutch were accustomed to treat their clergy with great respect, they were by temperament incapable of participating in the depths of feeling evinced by the French refugees for their minister. In the great persecution under Louis XIV the French Protestant clergy stood out conspicuously as the most dauntless of men. Many, through tribulation and persecution resisting even unto blood, passed through martyrdom into the peace that passeth all understanding. And, of those survivors whom nothing short of death could silence, one was Pierre Simond, who for those of his own religion was willing to make any honourable sacrifice

which lay within his power. The Huguenots, who were practically penniless when they landed in South Africa, were hospitably received by their Dutch friends in their new home. A fund was raised in the colony to which each individual contributed his quota in cattle, grain, or money, according to his ability. And whatever else was needed was supplied on credit from the stores of the Dutch East India Company. But from the first there were difficulties between Commander van der Stel and the exiled Frenchmen. The Commander was not desirous that the Huguenots should form a separate community in the Dutch settlement. Particular care was therefore taken to mix them as much as possible with the earlier colonists from Batavia. This attitude of the Commander was strongly resented by the Huguenots, who in the companionship of their own people found some solace for their expatriation from their own beloved country. In fact, at one time so pronounced was the ill-feeling between the two races that, in spite of community of faith, it was suggested that if the warships of France, who were then battling with the Netherlands, were to attack the South African colony, the Huguenots would join arms with the French.

But time, as time always does, softened this feeling of irritation; and by the end of the seventeenth century, after some twenty years living the same life and contending with the same hardships and difficulties as the older settlers, there were obvious signs of an ultimate fusion of the races. It seems that before 1691 most of the Huguenots who had originally been scattered amongst the Dutch population had found means to reunite by purchasing ground at a place called Drackenstein, which ultimately became a great centre of French occupation. And when the next census was taken but few families of French origin were found settled in other neighbourhoods. Already intermarriages were becoming numerous between the French and Dutch settlers, and henceforward the blending of the two nationalities proceeded so rapidly that in the course of a couple of generations the descendants of the Huguenot refugees were not, apart from their names, to be distinguished from the earlier colonists. Such, ladies and gentlemen, were some of the adventures of

these pilgrim fathers of the French Reformed Church in South Africa who, by importing a Latino-Gallic element into the phlegmatic Batavian stock, improved and built up the European race in its new environment. Indeed, throughout nature segregation seems to be as bad in its effects on the well-being of the race as it is in the individual or the family. The steady infiltration of new and alien blood tends to build up humanity. Thus in our own island the Briton, the Celt, the Roman, the Anglo-Saxon, the Norman, by coalescing, have edified a stalwart race in body and in mind which, in spite of its many frailties and imperfections, is nevertheless one of the most healthful and progressive in the world.

So ever in the inscrutable Providence of their Maker the nations of the world, by a blending either of their physical or mental characteristics, or by a combination of both, shall go on and up to some great and as yet almost unimaginable goal in the future of the race until at last He who originally evolved Cosmos from Chaos and light from darkness shall in His own time bring good from evil and finally evolve—

‘Purged and refined,
New heavens, new Earth, ages of endless date,
Founded in righteousness, and peace, and love,
To bring forth fruits, joy and eternal bliss.’

Archbishop Marsh and the Discipline of the French Church of St. Patrick's, Dublin, 1694.

BY THOMAS PHILIP LE FANU, C.B.

THE French Church in the Lady Chapel of St. Patrick's Cathedral was formally opened on April 29, 1666, thus preceding the establishment of the Nonconformist Church in Bride Street by twenty-six years. The discipline approved for its use by Narcissus Marsh, Archbishop of Dublin, which forms the basis of this paper, was not adopted until October 1694. Why did a church which had got on for nearly thirty years without a document of the kind deem it necessary to frame one after such a lapse of time, and to what cause did the discipline owe its peculiar form? The answer to both questions lies in the altered circumstances of the time. In 1666 the reaction against the Commonwealth was intense in ecclesiastical matters as in politics. The Government was anxious to encourage the advent of Protestant strangers, but although the Act of Uniformity excluded from its penalties 'foreigners or aliens of the foreign or reformed churches allowed or to be allowed by His Majesty his heirs and successors,' the Crown was not thereby prohibited from attaching to any special privileges which it granted to new congregations the condition of strict conformity to the Anglican Church. It therefore left open the line of policy clearly expressed in the declaration of March 1661 by which the King on the occasion of a dispute between the French Churches of Threadneedle Street and Westminster confirmed the former in the privileges granted to it by Edward VI, but only allowed the latter to assemble in the new place of worship to be provided for it in the Savoy on condition that its members 'use the Book of Common Prayer and submit to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London.'¹

¹ *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, vol. ii. p. 494; also Schickler, *Les Eglises du Réfuge en Angleterre*, vol. ii. p. 218.

Jean Durel, the first minister of the new church in the Savoy, well fitted as a native of Jersey and a graduate of Oxford who had both in France and England filled the office of mediator,¹ exerted himself not only in translating the Anglican Liturgy into French for the use of foreign congregations, but also in collecting the testimonies of many eminent ministers of the reformed churches abroad to their conformity with the reformed Church of England both in government and public worship. These he published at London in 1662 in his *View of the Government and Publick Worship of God in the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas*. Conformity thus appears to have been made an essential condition under Charles II to the establishment in England or Ireland of any foreign congregation not already protected by charter. The French congregation established in Dublin in 1666 under Jacques Hiérôme, previously Durel's colleague at the Savoy, was no exception to the rule.

Hiérôme was a pluralist whose conformity was secured by a liberal measure of patronage extending from a prebend in St. Patrick's Cathedral to grazing rights in the Phoenix Park and by marriage to a bishop's daughter, and a place of worship was found for the congregation in St. Patrick's Cathedral on the clear understanding expressed in the letter of November 30, 1665, addressed by the Duke of Ormonde as Viceroy to the Archbishop of Dublin, that it would 'be governed wholly according to the discipline and rites of the Church of Ireland and the canons of the same strictly and indispensably.' Acting in the same spirit Primate Boyle and Lord Arran, serving as Lord Deputy in the absence of his father the Duke of Ormonde, felt it their duty to take strong measures in 1683 against a new-come French minister who had set up what they termed a conventicle.² The same policy was continued under James II. Mr. Minet in his paper on the fourth foreign church at Dover, published in the Society's *Proceedings*,³ quotes a Royal warrant of July 30,

¹ *Ayant remplis les fonctions dans l'une et dans l'autre communion il était moins frappé de leurs différences que pénétré de leur solidarité protestante.* Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre*, vol. ii. p. 218.

² Ormonde MSS. (New Series), vol. vii. pp. 65, 66, 81, 104.

³ Vol. iv. p. 96.

1685, addressed to Colonel Strode permitting the French refugees at Dover to make use of the church built there in the reign of Charles I, which contains the following proviso :

‘ Provided they make use of the service of the Church of England according to the rubric and as it is used by the French congregation at the Savoy here. Wherein if they faile we do authorise and require you or the Mayor and jurattes of our said town to shut up the church doors and suffer them to meet no more.’

Up to this time there was no alternative to conformity, and although James II subsequently altered his policy towards nonconformity whether English or French, allowing the Threadneedle Street Congregation in 1687 to establish a chapel of ease where its ministers might conduct the service of God ‘after their usual manner’¹ and granting the well-known Patent of 1688 to certain French ministers in London ‘to exercise the functions of their ministry according to the manner used in France,’² this change of attitude did not benefit the French Church in Dublin. There is a significant blank in its registers from 1687 to 1692, and in June 1689 its minister, Josué Rossel, was seized and delivered to the Count d’Avaux to be sent over to France.³ When peace followed the revolution the prosperity of the congregation was soon threatened from another side. In 1692 the Act 4 William and Mary, cap. 2 (Irish), was passed providing that

‘all Protestant strangers and foreigners who shall at any time hereafter come into this kingdom and shall take the oaths and subscribe the declaration herein above mentioned, shall have and enjoy the free exercise of their religion and have the liberty of meeting together publicly and of hearing divine service and performing other religious duties in their own several rites used in their own countries any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.’

This Act was a necessary recognition of the services of the French refugees in King William’s army. Though the scruples which some had felt in joining in the services of the Anglican Church had been controverted in detail by the pronouncements of high authorities brought together by Durel, his work is professedly that of an apologist and must

¹ Burn’s *Foreign Protestant Refugees*, pp. 178–9.

² *Huguenot Society’s Proceedings*, vol. v. pp. 299.

³ *London Gazette*, July 1, 1689.

always have been accepted with due allowance as an *ex parte* statement. Notwithstanding his endeavours towards a reconciliation it was only natural that the Anglican Services should appear unedifying to many, as they did to that worthy Norman gentleman Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet when he first attended them while at Exeter in King William's army in 1688.

‘ Je vis là [he writes in his diary] pour la première fois le service de l'Eglise anglicane. Comme tout l'extérieur du papisme y étoit resté cela me surprit ; les églises ont des autels, deux grands flambeaux aux côtés et un bassin de vermeil ou d'argent dessus, les chanoines avec le surplis et l'étole sont dans leurs bancs des deux côtés de la nef. Ils ont un chœur de petits garçons en surplis qui chantent avec eux ; leur musique me sembla belle, il y avait des voix charmantes. Cependant comme cela est très opposé à la simplicité de notre réformation, je n'en fus point édifié.’¹

A cathedral service was of course a very different thing from the simple use of a French translation of the English Liturgy, but many refugees, and especially those who lived in the hope of returning to France, clung to the service to which they had been accustomed at home. Quite apart from any question of theology or church government, use and association had endeared the French form of service to those whose memories or hopes were centred in their native land ; and it is not surprising that at Portarlinton the colony of old officers, always a most conservative class, should have availed themselves of this privilege for some years (1693-1702), or that in Dublin, where the largest body of refugees had settled, a congregation using the French service as now permitted by law should have been established in Bride Street immediately after the passing of the Act.

There were, however, among the refugees persons of greater foresight who, not seeing any prospect of a return to their homes, looked for a career in the country of their adoption. Chief among these was Henri, Marquis de Ruigny, created Lord Galway in 1692, the acknowledged leader of the *corps du refuge* by virtue not only of his military distinctions but also of the position, which he and his father had

¹ *Mémoires Inédits de Dumont de Bostaquet* (Paris, 1864), p. 223.

held in succession for more than thirty years before the revocation, of Député Général for the Protestants at the French Courts. Ruvigny had felt his position as a Protestant in France and was not disposed to remain a foreigner in England.¹ Moreover, as a statesman on whom had fallen in a measure the care of all the French refugees, whithersoever they had fled, he had to consider the provision to be made for those of his countrymen who had escaped in overwhelming numbers to the Protestant cantons of Switzerland. Their leaders suggested the establishment of Huguenot colonies in Ireland, a proposal to which William III lent a ready ear, and Ruvigny was the instrument chosen to carry the proposal into effect.

The project, like many other schemes for the improvement of Ireland, ultimately failed owing to a lack of appreciation of the conditions under which it would have to be carried out, but in 1693 it was still in contemplation, and Ruvigny's short visit to Ireland in the previous year had been largely occupied in viewing the places where it might be possible to establish colonies.² His views on the subject are thus expressed in a letter³ of December 3, 1691, to Henry de Mirmaud: '*Je crois que ceux qui pourront s'établir en ce pays seront beaucoup plus heureux que ceux qui s'en retourneront en France, s'il était jamais permis d'y aller en bonne conscience. Quoiqu'il arrive je n'estimerai jamais la prudence de ceux qui s'y fieront.*' It is clear then that though a convinced adherent of the reformed religion as practised in France he saw no hope of its re-establishment on a secure basis in that country. As a statesman he looked on the Protestant cause from the point of view of European politics at a time when, in the words of the present Bishop of Durham⁴ Great Britain had resumed 'its true place at the head of the Protestant cause,' and 'the mere fact that the leader of European Protestantism now became the supreme Governor of the Church of England reduced to

¹ Historical MSS. Commission, *Buccleugh MSS.*, p. 622.

² *Mémoires de Dumont de Bostaquet*, pp. 308-9.

³ Printed by la Baronne Alexandre de Chambrier, *Huguenot Society's Proceedings*, vol. vi. p. 384.

⁴ Hensley Henson, *The Relation of the Church of England to the other Reformed Churches* (London, 1911), pp. 74, 76.

absurdity the notion that the Church of England was other than, in the fullest sense of the word, a Protestant Church.' It may well be also that with his intimate official experience of the steps by which the measure of toleration secured for the Protestants in France by the Edict of Nantes had been gradually undermined he was not likely to have much faith in the permanence of any legislation for the protection of dissent. If he had such gloomy forebodings they were falsified in the case of the Act of 1692, which was never repealed; but that there was some ground for such anxiety is shown by the instance of the colony which he founded at Portarlington in 1693, where a reactionary parliament nine years later enabled a masterful bishop to put pressure on the colonists to forgo the privileges granted by that Act. Compromise was essential to the union of Protestant interests, and did not, in the mind of Ruvigny or those who thought with him, imply any dereliction of principles. His loyalty to his religious convictions is sufficiently proved by the sacrifices of wealth and position which he made for them. It is true that Swift¹ styles him 'a damnable hypocrite of no religion.' But, to adopt a phrase which has been applied² to Lord Macaulay's diatribes against Swift, this means nothing more than that Ruvigny was a Whig and Swift a Tory. His influence with the refugee churches was due not only to his official connexion with their fortunes but to the fact that he was, in Burnet's words, 'a man of eminent virtues, great piety and zeal for religion.'³ His friend and secretary, Elie Bouhéreau, in the very interesting statement prefixed to his will, indicates his attitude towards conformity in the following words, which Ruvigny would no doubt have adopted as expressing his own position:

'The design [he writes] I always had of dying within the communion of the Reformed Churches of France in which by the Grace of God I constantly lived till they were utterly destroy'd was the reason why upon being driven into England by the same storm which overwhelmed them I immediately submitted to the discipline of the Church as by law there established, as being fully persuaded that I could never more effectually show myself a true

¹ *Remarks on the Characters of the Court of Queen Anne.*

² *Jonathan Swift*, by Charles Whibley-Leslie, Stephen Lecture, 1917.

³ *History of His Own Time*, vol. ii. p. 82.

son of our desolate churches than by a steady adherence to the principles which they owned and maintained and as believing it to be our part and duty to show at least good example, when we cannot in any other way contribute towards reclaiming those who stand separated for such reasons as our churches did highly disapprove; far from giving the world occasion to believe by making distinct and separate assemblies that we would refuse in our native country to be members of such a reformed body as the Church of England now is.’¹

Ruvigny did not, however, confine himself to showing a good example until he had first tried the effect of precept. From one quarter at least he could count on support. Josué Rossel, the minister of the French Church of St. Patrick, had died in 1692, and his son Charles Rossel, already fully provided for in the Irish Church, only held office as his successor for a few months. The new ministers, Gabriel Barbier and Jean Séverin, were both Ruvigny’s nominees and had both been closely connected with him as ministers of the French Church at Greenwich, where his parents had their English home. He had brought both with him to Ireland in the preceding year—Barbier as his chaplain and Séverin with the intention of making him minister of the French Settlement which he professed to establish at Drogheda,² a project soon abandoned. Séverin, the elder and more experienced of the two, held very advanced views on the question of passive obedience, having expressed the opinion on the occasion of a discussion at Threadneedle Street in 1683 ‘*que les rois avoient un droit absolu sur la vie et les biens de leurs sujets . . . et qu’ils étoient maîtres aussi de leur religion, du moins en ce qui est de l’extérieur et des cérémonies.*’³ So far therefore as regarded the French congregation of St. Patrick’s, Ruvigny had reason to believe that his wish to bring the general body of the refugees into conformity with the established Church would be ably seconded.

Séverin took up his duties at St. Patrick’s on February 19, 1693, and, on April 16 following, Ruvigny on the eve of his departure for Flanders put before the Consistory of the

¹ ‘Elie Bouhéreau of La Rochelle,’ by Dr. Newport White, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxvii. (c) p. 149.

² *Mémoires de Dumont de Bostaquet*, p. 308.

³ Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre*, vol. ii. p. 321.

Church his proposal for its union with the newly established nonconformist congregation. The latter, however, raised difficulties ; and when Ruvigny met the Heads of Families of the St. Patrick's congregation by appointment at eight o'clock the following morning he had to announce his failure, though he held out hopes that what could not be done at one time might be done at another. He thanked the Consistory for the disposition towards union which they had shown and begged them to persevere in it and live in harmony with the other congregation. Ruvigny left Ireland before the end of the month and his parting words were no doubt borne in mind by Séverin and Barbier. In face of the competition at their very doors it behoved them, if they could not effect the alliance which he desired with the new church in Bride Street, at least to show that their congregation, while identifying itself in certain respects with the country of its adoption, was still a true child of France. It was also necessary from another point of view that its organisation should be definitely settled. The great influx of refugees, many of them in the direst poverty, severely taxed the resources of such of their compatriots as had been able to carry with them some of their property, and refugee churches became largely charitable societies. To the orderly French mind it was essential that the responsibility for the receipt and distribution of the money subscribed for the benefit of the poor refugees should be duly defined. The earliest account-book of the nonconformist congregation¹ shows that the collection of the *deniers des pauvres* began at once on December 18, 1692, the sums collected being accounted for in bulk in the *Livre de Caisse* of the church, with a reference to the *livre d'employ des deniers* for details of expenditure. Boxes were provided for these offerings, which were kept and accounted for separately from the contributions for general church purposes, and the accounts were examined and passed half-yearly by the representatives of the Heads of Families and by the Consistory. As illustrating the fact that Ruvigny was not always able to persuade those most directly under his influence to adopt his views on conformity, it is interesting to find among those who thus

¹ In the Public Record Office of Ireland.

passed and signed accounts more than one of the officers of King William's army who afterwards settled at Portarlington, such as Charles de Bures Bethencourt, Marc Champlaurier, and the veteran Daniel le Grand du Petit Bosc, as well as Gendron, the keeper of the inn in Copper Alley,¹ where several of the French officers on Ruvigny's staff had put up in 1692.

If the St. Patrick's congregation was to hold its own as the principal church of the refugees it must needs set its house in order. It had hitherto been governed by the Discipline of the Church of the Savoy drawn up in very different circumstances and containing much that was unsuitable. Some changes were necessary, and the Consistory in full session on January 21, 1694, determined to draw up a discipline for themselves based on the Discipline of the Reformed French Churches, that of the Savoy, and the rules which they had themselves made from time to time. The Discipline was accordingly drawn up by the Consistory, which met from week to week for the purpose, and was read to and finally approved by the *Assemblée des chefs de famille* on October 7, 1694.

Meantime an important change had taken place in the hierarchy by the translation of Narcissus Marsh from the Archbishopric of Cashel to that of Dublin. The new Archbishop was a man of learning and dignity, but, on his own showing,² so timid and retiring that it is a matter of surprise that he should have been able to attain and hold with credit the highest offices in Church and State in such troublous times. Swift's character of him while seizing on some obvious faults does not explain his career. Archbishop King, though critical, is fairer. Marsh, to his mind, was an excellent person but modest and unacquainted with the world.³ The qualities to which he owed his influence were his great prudence, honesty, and moderation. In an age of bitter sectarian strife no charge of intolerance was ever brought against him, and amidst venality and corruption 'malice,' says Archbishop King, 'could not tax him with the sus-

¹ 'Copraly,' *Mémoires de Dumont de Bostaquet*, p. 307.

² See his Diary.

³ Letter to Sir R. Southwell 29 April 1697. Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 91.

picion of any one vice.'¹ He was a known friend of those persecuted for religion, and when the Consistory of the French Church submitted their new Discipline to him it appears from their records that he approved and praised it. The Discipline was obviously not intended to cover the same ground as the Discipline of the Reformed Churches of France, which contains three times as many clauses.² The chapters in the latter dealing with Unions, *Colloques*, and National and Provincial Synods naturally disappear as being inapplicable to an isolated church, and no provision was necessary for schools which were not yet in contemplation. The congregation, under the conditions on which they were allowed the use of the Lady Chapel at St. Patrick's Cathedral, were bound by the Discipline and Canons of the Church of Ireland under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Dublin. The Discipline now under discussion does not supersede this agreement and was not imposed from without but framed by the congregation. It begins with a chapter headed *L'Eglise*, which does not appear in the original, describing the hours of service (fixed no doubt, in accordance with the agreement for the use of the Lady Chapel so as not to interrupt the Cathedral services), dwelling on the continued observance of the Huguenot Psalmody and the distribution of tokens (*méreaux*), and dealing sympathetically with difficulties likely to arise with regard to the question of standing or kneeling at certain parts of the service. This chapter also deals with *Abjurations et Reconnaissances*—most important for the protection of a refugee church from needy and unscrupulous aliens who might wish to conceal their real reasons for emigration under the cloak of religion. It leaves the impression which it was no doubt intended to convey, of the genuinely French character of the church. This intention is emphasised by the second chapter *Du Consistoire*, which more nearly approaches its French prototype in length and detail than any other part of the Discipline. Save for a brief reference to the reservation to the Archbishop of the question of excommunication, there is nothing to indicate that it was

¹ *The Remembrance of the Righteous* (a sermon preached at Marsh's funeral), Dublin, 1713.

² D'Huissseau, *La Discipline des Eglises Réformées de France*, Rochelle, 1666.

framed for a church under foreign jurisdiction. The chapter on the ministers, which is the first and far the longest in the French Discipline, only takes third place and consists but of nine articles in the new Discipline; but it may be noted that the vexed question of reordination is avoided and that care is taken to explain that the power of dispensing with the services of a minister will be exercised by the Archbishop only on the grounds on which deposition is permissible under the French Discipline. The chapter in the French Discipline on the office of a deacon (*du diaconat*) naturally disappears. In the surroundings of the refugees the term had acquired a new meaning. The sixth chapter, *Des Exercices Sacrez*, though following the French Discipline in many respects, adds a warning against conduct likely to give offence (*qui scandalize nos frères*) and omits the prohibition of funeral services. The last chapter, *Des Réglements Particuliers*, is chiefly notable for two declarations: first that in matters of importance not dealt with in the new Discipline, that of the Reformed Churches of France is to be followed *autant que le tems et le pays le permettent*, and secondly that the congregation will always remain in submission to the authority of the Archbishop and the government of the Anglican Church.

The fifth article of this chapter provides that each member of the Consistory shall have a copy of the new Discipline. It was therefore intended from the first that it should be printed, but its contents and its omissions alike seem to indicate that it was not intended solely for the guidance of the governing body of the church. The manuscript copy belonging to the church and still among its records, bearing the Archbishop's imprimatur and the signatures of its successive ministers and elders,¹ with the duplicate still in Archbishop Marsh's library, might have sufficed for this purpose. As already suggested, the presumption is that it was meant to be in some sort a declaration for the benefit and encouragement of the French refugees who were flocking to Ireland, as stated in the minute-book of the Consistory, from Germany, Switzerland, Holland, and elsewhere, and it was probably for this purpose that licence for its printing was sought from the Archbishop. In

¹ See Appendix to this Paper.

this connexion it may be worth noting that among the first signatures attached to this discipline, as printed, is that of Dumont de Bostaquet, whose criticisms of the Anglican service have already been quoted. He was now settled in Dublin and had become an elder of the Conformed Church, being delighted to find in its ministers two old friends, of whom both had been well known to him at Greenwich, and one, M. Séverin, to his wife at her home at Grosménil in Normandy.¹ The licence to print prefixed to the Discipline is in the following terms: '*Je permets à l'église française de faire imprimer la discipline qu'elle a composée pour son usage. Fait à Dublin le 24 Février 1694/5. Narcissus Marsh.*'

Acting on this permission the Consistory caused the Discipline to be printed in pamphlet form by Joseph Ray, one of the best-known Dublin printers and booksellers of that day.² A copy is preserved in the Halliday Collection in the Royal Irish Academy, and another without title-page in the Cashel Collection in Archbishop Marsh's Library. The Archbishop disclaims any share in the composition of the Discipline, but some measure of sympathy with the Huguenots may be inferred from his relations with Elie Bouhéreau, whom he selected at a later date as the first Keeper of the Library which he gave to Dublin. Bouhéreau, as already mentioned, had been secretary to Ruvigny and held that post when his two patrons were associated in the office of Lord Justice of Ireland. Marsh must have been well acquainted with Ruvigny, who no doubt introduced Bouhéreau to him, but his good offices had been invoked on behalf of the Huguenots long before he knew either one or the other. In 1684 while he was still Bishop of Ferns he had been directed by the Privy Council to find a place of worship for the French colony in Wexford, then consisting of forty-two families.³ In his reply assigning St. Mary's Church for this purpose, he wrote :

'What further is required either for the encouragement of the Minister and Congregation when established or for the preserving

¹ *Mémoires de Dumont de Bostaquet*, p. 244.

² Gilbert, *History of Dublin*, vol. i. p. 180.

³ Registry Book, Diocese of Leighlin, 1660-1695, in Public Record Office of Ireland.

of orderly discipline amongst them according to the Canons of the Church of Ireland shall be duly observed by your Honours' most obedient Servant : Narcissus Ferns and Leighlin.'

Archbishop King, in the sermon which he preached at Marsh's funeral, records his fellow feeling towards all in adversity and the liberal contributions with which he helped such as were persecuted for religion ; but considerations other than mere feelings of sympathy may well have influenced him in his attitude towards the French congregation. By training and predilection a student his position had compelled him to become a statesman. Worldly business, in his own words, was that which above all things he hated.¹ Naturally timid, he was obsessed by anxiety with regard to the future of the Church of Ireland. The care of the Church entailed unceasing watchfulness against the growth of other parties or interests, as they were then commonly called. Marsh had been born, as Dr. Stokes reminds us,² when Laud was at the height of his power. It was now just sixty years, momentous in the history of the Churches, since Laud had commenced his measures against the Huguenots. Clarendon,³ whom Marsh had known well, having acted for some time as his chaplain, has described in a well-known passage the evil political results of those measures. The Bishops, according to him, feared that the countenance shown to the foreign churches in England would diminish the reputation and dignity of the Episcopal Government. Laud's injunctions and the action taken thereon by Bishop Wren and others had the effect of allying the Huguenots for a time with the opponents of the Crown and episcopacy. Marsh was not the man, nor was it the time, for a repetition of Laud's mistakes. There is a world of difference between the tone of Laud's injunctions to the foreign churches in England and the 'spirit of meekness and love in dealing with recusants and dissenters' recommended by Marsh in his charge to the clergy of the Diocese of Dublin⁴ and shown by him in his liberal inter-

¹ Mant, *History of the Church in Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 111.

² *Worthies of the Irish Church*, p. 67.

³ *History of the Rebellion*, Book VI.

⁴ Dublin, 1694.

pretation of the stipulation of his predecessors that the French congregation worshipping in St. Patrick's Cathedral should be governed 'wholly according to the discipline and rites of the Church of Ireland.' William King, now Bishop of Derry and destined to be Marsh's successor in Dublin, was a man of very different stamp, but he too feared for the interests of the Church. There may not at first sight appear to be much connexion between the Discipline approved by the Archbishop of Dublin in 1694 and the celebrated work published in the previous year by the Bishop of Derry and entitled *A Discourse concerning the Inventions of Men in the Worship of God*, but it is probable that both prelates were endeavouring to meet the same danger though in different phases and by different methods.

The 'wild geese' left Ireland in their thousands after the revolution. To fill their places a great number¹ of small Scotch adventurers came between 1690 and 1698 into different parts of Ireland, but chiefly into Ulster, thereby adding greatly to the strength of the Presbyterian population. Ruvigny established a Huguenot colony at Portarlington in 1693 and hoped, with the King's approval, to found others, while many Huguenots found their way without direct Government assistance to Dublin and smaller numbers to Cork, Lisburn, Dundalk, Waterford, Carlow, Wexford, and elsewhere. The Scottish immigrants had been encouraged by the establishment of their religion in Scotland and were growing in power and confidence. King felt bound to join issue with them, and the title of his book sufficiently indicates the line of his attack. Marsh shared in the general but short-sighted apprehension felt by Irish Churchmen with regard to the growth of the Presbyterian interest, but the problem in his diocese was a different one and he was a peacemaker not a controversialist.² He had no strong body of Irish or Scottish Presbyterians to deal with, but the Frenchmen who were flocking to Dublin might, if not prudently handled, identify themselves politically with the Presbyterian interest in Ireland. They were, many

¹ Killen, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 172; *Journal of Kilkenny Archæological Society*, vol. vi. (New Series, 1867), p. 50.

² His epitaph in St. Patrick's Cathedral truly says: *In republica pacem promovit.*

of them, soldiers who had deserved well of the State and of their Sovereign, whose foreign advisers and followers had not yet begun to suffer from the reaction in public opinion which was to culminate a few years later in the Act of Resumption. Though not strong enough to form a party by themselves their support was most desirable, but their religious liberty was secured to them by Act of Parliament, and if they were to be won it must be by kindness. The impossibility of any other course was obvious to all who looked on the questions of the day from a European point of view. King himself hesitated to embark on controversies which might prove ticklish in respect of the foreign churches.¹ On the other hand, save for the brief period when they were the common victims of Laud's severity, even the older French settlers had not concerned themselves much with the domestic controversies of their neighbours, and the newcomers who had left France at the Revocation knew little of them. No one had a better right to speak as the representative of the Huguenots than the celebrated Pierre Du Bosc of Caen, who thirty years before had admitted that episcopacy had its advantages and had expressed the view that the French Reformed Church had adopted a presbyterian form of government of necessity and not as a matter of principle.² There was therefore no strong historical bar to their identifying themselves with the Established Church. Marsh, though a strict adherent to the services of his own church, did not approach controversial questions in any narrow spirit. His motto *πανταχῇ τὴν ἀλήθειαν* is corroborated by King's testimony in his funeral sermon that 'neither dissenters nor Roman Catholics did ever complain of him.'³ To embark on controversy would have been uncongenial to him, but with Bouhéreau he would no doubt have admitted the essential unity of the foreign Protestant Churches with the established Churches of England and Ireland which Durel had maintained by the evidence of foreign divines and Joseph Bingham was to vindicate by

¹ See his letter of December 15, 1696, to the Bishop of Lichfield, Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 70.

² Durel, *View of the Government and Publick Worship of God in the Reformed Churches*, pp. 122, 278.

³ *The Remembrance of the Righteous.*

appeal to the records of their synods.¹ He certainly welcomed the reorganisation of the French congregation established in his Cathedral on the basis of a discipline which did not place an unduly strict interpretation on the conformity which was a condition of their tenure of the Lady Chapel. His welcome must have had its influence on the newcomers, enhancing the political inducements to conformity referred to in the earlier part of this paper.

In the result the Irish Huguenots do not appear to have identified themselves as such with any political interest, and even those who adhered to their native forms of worship preferred, while engaging in friendly correspondence with the northern Presbyterians, to maintain an independent position and fight their own battles when necessary against the Church authorities—a course which their northern friends themselves appear to have regarded as prudent.²

Ecclesiastically so far as Dublin is concerned the Huguenots, whether originally conformists or not, gradually merged in the Church of Ireland.

Those who believe that the great lesson to be derived from Huguenot history is the evil of intolerance will give full credit to Archbishop Marsh for his moderation.

APPENDIX

List of Ministers, Elders, and others whose signatures are affixed to the Copy of the Discipline in the Public Record Office of Ireland.

*La présente discipline après avoir esté leue à
l'assemblée des chefs de famille a esté
unanimentement approuvée et signée ce jourdhuy
7^e octobre, 1694.*

G. Barbier, Ministre, Modérateur.

Severin, Ministre.

F. Letort. Pierre Guerin, Secrétaire de la Compagnie.
De Moulins. Nicolas Le Febure, Trésorier du Consistoire.
Questebrune. Bostaquet, Ancien. Boesnier, Ancien.
Virasel. S. Romagnac. La Catherye.
De St^e Maison. De Courteille. Pascal. Jos. Boudré.
De Vignoles. De la Place. Belorie.
De St^t Germain. Robert le Large. Jean Allenet.
Jacob le Febure. Adam Foret. Paul Dupin.
Destaches.

¹ *The French Churches' Apology for the Church of England* (London, 1706).

² Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, vol. iii. p. 154.

Mathieu La Roche. Du Parc. Abraham Tabois.
 Vivry. J. Mialhe. Jean Faure.
 David Le Gagneur. Gaultier.
 Louis Chaigneau. Pierre Hais. David Buisson.
 Jouamier. D'Aignoux.
 Verdelles. M. Caillon. Bellers.
 St Philbert. Boudet. Coudère.
 De Senegas. Louis Regnier.
 Albert Prevost. De la Sarraz Chalon, Ministre.
 Jean Boivin. Louis Quartier, Ministre.
 John Aigoïn. Pierre Degalinière, Ministre.
 Jean Molié. Henry de Rocheblave, Ministre.
 Steph: Cassan. Daniel de la Fontan.
 Jean Milhau. Noé Biard. Est^e Saurin.
 A. Chabrier. De Saint Mesmin.
 De Puy Chenin. J. de Guy. L. Bertin.
 Daniel Guion. Pierre Garesché. Corbetes.
 Jaques Brunyer. André Rulland.
 David La Touche. Auguste de Laspois.
 D. Du Pont. D. Theroude. Louis Le Roux.
 H. Gabriel. Paul Chastel. David Carton.
 Le Feron. Antho: Vedel.
 Pierre Guerin. Charles de Cresserons.
 Lafont. Boesnier.
 Abraham Tabois. Joh. Vareilles.
 Alexandre de Suzy Boan, Ministre. Pierre Michell.
 René de la Fausille.
 Abel Armenault. G. Maret.
 Jacob Le Febure. J. Bournacq.
 De Pineau. Daniel Marrault.
 D. B. de Bernatre. François Clavis.
 Philippe Morel. Fran: Charrière.
 J. De Mestre. Jean Peizan.
 M. Favière. Daniel Bertaud.
 Jean François de Bouvillette. St Paul, Ministre.
 Charles de Saily. A. Fleury, Ministre.
 Pierre de la Rousselière. Daniel Gast.
 Charles Bardin. Hector de Cramahé.
 Paul Adrien. Dav. Chaigneau.
 Jean Fougère. Isaac Gerverau.
 David Le Gaigneur. Pr. Malié.
 Jacques Tavo. J. Sandoz.
 Balthazar Rivas de Foissac. Antho: Vareilles.
 J. Nicolas. David La Touche.
 Pierre La Billière. Jean Alançon.
 Jean Aigoïn. Guill^e Boucoiran.
 J. Ducros. Jaques Boursiquot.

David Aubrespy }
 Louis Berten }
 Pierre Guion }

—
 Simon Chabert
 R. Penette
 François Masson

—
 Pierre Lamenes
 Philippe Morel

Estne Saurin
 Paul Chastel
 Pierre Guilhermin
 Guilheume Maret
 Dan^l Pelletreau
 Daniel Mauco
 S. Cavallier
 Jean Aigoïn
 Jean Villemisson
 Dan: Guion
 H. De la Lande

29 Mars 1626-7

Jean Bonvillette

Jaques Brunyer

John Vareilles

G. Darquier

le 7^e Avril 1728

D^e de Bernatre

André Rulland

Paul Adrien

Antoine Fleury, Ministre

1731. Sol. Blosset

Isaac Gerverau

François Peiraube

Willi: Bryan

T. Baudré

Petr Vauteau

Saml Hathawait

Jean Alançon

Pierre Chaigneau

Paul Guimet

Jean Lacger

1732-3 Mars Dime II

Pierre Labilliére

Dimanche 7^e Avril 1734

P. Morel

Samuel Horner

Jacques Le Fanu

G. Darquier

Jean Carmichael Morten 1744

1736 Jean Louis Scoffier, le premier
1736

Dimanche ii Avril, 1736

Jean Bonvillette

Isaac Croses

D. Jonquet

Jean Freboul

Peter Landré

D. Grou

David Bowes

Geo: La Pierre

Mars 3, 1736-7

J. P. Droz, Min.

1737 Avril 12^e

Antho. Vareilles

P. Besnard

Pierre Gerverau

1737. 15 Xbre

C. de Villette, Min.

Mars 1739-42

Simon Ogier

Paul Mangin

Jos. Vareilles

Pet. Vauteau

Willi: Bryan

Paul Adrien

31 Mars 1746

Sim: Boileau

Pre Chaigneau

Gasp^r Erck

D. Grou

John Soubran

J^s Vignau

Janvier le 9, 1752. Nouveau Style

Daniel Beaufort, Ministre

7^{bre} 24, 1758

Jacques Pelletreau, Ministre

12 August 1768

Jean Chaigneau

15 Mar. 1778

Jacq. Darquier

January 1780

Paul Isaac Vauteau

January 22, 1781

François Bessonnet, Ministre

Stuckey Simon, Ancien

J. de Mont Cenis, Ministre

1781. 22^d April, 1781

Max: Favière

le 9^e June 1782

Jacques Simon

1787. 25 Feby

Pierre Chaigneau

1787. April 29th

John Rambaut

Septembre 1795

Jean Letablère, Ministre

1 Mai 1807

Richard de L'Espinasse, Ancien

9 April 1820

Charles Le Bas

29 April 1824

François Bessonnet, Ancien

The Documents relating to the Relief of French Protestant Refugees, 1693 to 1718, preserved in the Records Office at the Guildhall, London.

COMMUNICATED BY A. H. THOMAS, M.A., CLERK OF THE RECORDS
TO THE CORPORATION OF LONDON.

IN two previous contributions to the *Proceedings* Volumes V and VII, some account was given by Dr. W. A. Shaw and Mr. G. B. Beeman of certain Records in the custody of the Corporation of the City of London relating to the Relief of French Protestant Refugees during the later years of the seventeenth century. They consisted of briefs for the collection of moneys, together with an isolated account book and a few unsifted acquittances, then and now preserved in the Guildhall Library. Mr. Beeman, in his valuable article, mentions further an account book of 1700-1 and two bundles of acquittances of 1703 and 1709 which he found in the Guildhall Records Office. Since that time a careful search has been made by the present writer through the small residuum of unsorted documents in the latter office, with the result that a considerable number of accounts and acquittances have come to light for the period A.D. 1693-1718. They had been duly docketed by the chamberlains of the time, but unfortunately during the course of time many of the wrappers and tapes had perished, and no small number of the thousands of acquittances had become intermingled. The difficulty of re-sorting them was increased by the fact that some of the accounts had disappeared, and in other cases no acquittances could be found corresponding to the accounts. The present arrangement has been checked as far as possible by the King's Warrant Books and other documents in the Public Record Office, as quoted in the above-mentioned articles, and, it is hoped, is

reasonably correct. But there is still opportunity for a great deal of research in order to establish the precise nature and amount of the various funds allocated for relief. The following list is printed in the hope that some reader with more time and opportunity than the present writer can devote may be willing to undertake the task.

The connection of the Corporation of the City of London with these funds was explained by Dr. W. A. Shaw (vol. V, p. 344) as follows: 'The Chamber of London was simply the Treasury for the City of London. On account of the position held by the City, its treasury became the depository of numberless funds raised for charitable objects of all sorts. Receipts or notes were made of the money paid in; as soon as the funds began to come in, or as soon as they had reached a considerable amount, they were distributed and receipts taken for the payments exactly as they would be with any Mansion House fund to-day, and the account was finally and invariably closed by a balancing of charge and discharge within a reasonable date from the opening of the subscription.' It may be added that this is true not only of the funds raised by collections, but also of those granted by the Crown or Parliament. Sums of money were paid into the Chamber by warrant, and issued thence to the French Committee of Distribution, which in turn deposited in the Chamber properly audited accounts of the money dispensed, together with the actual acquittances or receipts signed by the several beneficiaries. In the case of the collections on briefs small sums were charged by the Chamber for clerical expenses. The presence of accounts and acquittances for the Royal and Parliamentary funds would seem to show that these moneys also passed in some way through the Chamber. But if so, the work in these cases appears to have been done gratuitously.

Three funds are represented by the documents listed below:—

1. *The Collection raised on the King's Brief of March 31, 1694.*—In MS. 280 in the Guildhall Library is to be found an account of the moneys received, and of the sums paid out to the French Committee and for other purposes. The total amount raised between 1694 and 1702 was £11,829 5s. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.,

the whole of which, with the exception of £35, came in before February 1697. When the account was closed, £11,829 5s. had been disbursed by the Chamber, leaving 10½d. in hand. Apparently M. Braguier, of the French Committee, received £11,347 for distribution.

Our first account, A, deals with £541 14s. dispensed by the Committee in 1693-4 in the hope of reimbursement, this sum being subsequently charged on Accounts Nos. 1 and 2. There are no accounts or acquittances in Guildhall for No. 1 (A.D. 1694-5), but we know that they dealt with the sum of £4017 16s. No. 2 accounts and acquittances survive for the sum of £2582 (A.D. 1694-5); No. 4 for £1500 (A.D. 1695-6); and No. 5 (A.D. 1695-6) for £1688. We may suppose that there was an Account No. 3, perhaps more than one account, for the balance of about £1600, in M. Braguier's hands.

2. *The King's Grant of £100 a week.*—This does not appear to have been a Parliamentary grant, but rather a personal contribution from William III and Mary. We have two sets of accounts and acquittances relating to it. No. 1 deals with £2100 for twenty-one weeks beginning April 25, 1695, and ending September 18 the same year, the money being distributed in August and October. Apparently this is the sum referred to in a sign manual of July 13, and a warrant of July 14, 1694 (K.W.B. x, p. 468). No. 3 contains accounts for the sum of £1300 for thirteen weeks from December 25, 1696, to March 25, 1697. Doubtless there were at one time an Account Book No. 2 and acquittances for the intervening period. A royal warrant of December 18, 1695, mentions a payment 'to M. Braguier, treasurer to the French Refugees, of £100 weekly to begin on September 18 last. This payment has now ceased.' Whether it was discontinued for a while in 1696, or not, at any rate it was resumed in the first quarter of 1697. Dr. W. A. Shaw suggested (p. 351) that the weekly payment was a separate grant or bounty from the King to the families of the French officers and soldiers which did him and us such signal service. This is not borne out by the accounts, which show that the recipients were much the same people as those who benefited from the other funds.

3. *The Parliamentary Grant of £15,000.*—The bulk of the

accounts and acquittances are concerned with this latter fund. It arose from an Act of Parliament of April 23, 1696, establishing an annual grant of £15,000 for five years, charged on a series of duties on low-priced wines, and from a subsequent Act granting to the King certain duties on malt, mum, sweets, cider and perry (K.W.B., xii, p. 401). Of this sum £3000 was earmarked for the relief of distressed French ministers, and only the remainder (£12,000 nominal) was placed at the disposal of the French Committee. Except for short periods mentioned below, it was paid fairly regularly throughout our period, though during the first years the system of payment by tallies, which were discounted for immediate realisation, resulted in some loss to the Committee.

Unfortunately our accounts for 1696-7 are incomplete. A sign manual of July 20, followed by a warrant of July 27, 1696, was issued for the payment of £12,000 (K.W.B., xii, p. 97). £4000 of this sum was paid by a warrant of October 6, 1696, to the French Committee in the form of tallies on the Temporary and Hereditary Excise. As these were not immediately negotiable, the members of the French Church in Threadneedle Street advanced £2085 10s. 9d. for relief, which was accounted for by an Account No. 1 now missing. We may suppose that there was an Account No. 2, dealing with some other portion of the £12,000, for a debit balance of £79 19s. 11d. was carried to the credit of the Committee in the next year's accounts. It was not till 1698 that the 4000 tallies were sold, when the French Church was reimbursed, and a balance of £2458 10s. 1d. was left for distribution. There is an Account Book No. 3 and acquittances for this sum, showing that it was dispensed in May 1698.

For the year 1697-8 there is full evidence: 700 tickets of £1000 on the Malt Lottery were received on August 24, 1697, which were discounted for £5215 16s. 9d. A further 500 tickets were delivered on December 20, realising £3481 11s. The whole sum of £8697 7s. 9d. was dispensed during the year, and two account books, with acquittances, duly returned to Guildhall.

The next year, 1698-9, payment took the form of eight tallies of £1000 assigned on the Sixth Payment of the Two

Millions Act of the New East India Company, discounted by the Bank of England at 6 per cent. loss, thus realising £7779 4s. Four other tallies produced £3971 1s. 5*d.* The accounts and acquittances show a debit balance of £63 19s. 5*d.* on the year's distributions.

From this time forward arrangements were made whereby the whole grant of £12,000, without deductions, was paid to the Committee. In 1699 and 1700 tallies for that amount were deposited in the Bank of England, charged on the 25 per cent. augmentation duties on all French commodities; and complete returns of expenditure were made to Guildhall.

For the year 1700–1 we have accounts only for the first instalment of £8000, but the acquittances survive, corresponding to the missing account book, for the remaining £4000 which was distributed in May and June 1701. The warrant of the Lords Directors was dated January 31, 1700–1, authority for which was doubtless given by the King's sign manual of January 14, 1700–1.

It would appear that the grant was discontinued during 1701. No accounts or acquittances are to be found for that year, and a petition of the French refugees of December 8, 1702, declares that payment was suspended by the warrant of January 14, 1700–1 (*Treasury Papers*, lxxxiii. 11). However, on May 28, 1702, Queen Anne resumed the grant, issuing a sign manual for £15,000. Two account books are mentioned for that year, but only two odd bundles of acquittances now remain at Guildhall. During the greater part of the Queen's reign the grant seems to have been paid regularly, though the documents at Guildhall are incomplete. There are accounts and acquittances for 1703–4; an account printed in 1707 relating to the distribution of 1705, which was designed to silence the prevalent complaints of malversation; accounts and acquittances for 1707; a few acquittances for 1708; and complete accounts and acquittances for 1709. Printed accounts for some or all of these years are said to be preserved in the Library of Lambeth Palace.

From 1710 till the end of Anne's reign the grants fell into arrear. A paper endorsed 'Discomptes des £6000 des Eschequer Bills' shows that £5974 17s. was received for the

first half of the grant of that year. The remainder was paid at intervals between 1711 and 1714, and was employed by the Committee in meeting such permanent charges as the schools and medical attendance, for which there are two bundles of acquittances. For 1714 and 1715 the documents are practically complete, as also for 1717, but apparently no grant or distribution took place in 1716.

A word may be said about the information contained in the various papers. Apart from the general question of the help extended by King or Parliament, the interest is mainly personal. There is a good deal of material for estimating the difficulties and sufferings of the refugees. The accounts preserve the names of practically all recipients, while the acquittances contain in addition a certain amount of explanatory matter, being signed in some cases by relatives or friends, because the beneficiaries were ill or had taken up their abode in other parts of the kingdom. The number and names of dependants are frequently added. It is interesting to notice that the refugees do not always agree with the Committee as to the correct spelling of their names, and there are other small discrepancies which, while not invalidating the accounts, throw light on the fortunes and family history of individuals. Altogether these documents contain a considerable amount of biographical and genealogical information, which can be sifted from the purely business entries. As business documents, the accounts leave a satisfactory impression on the mind. The French Committee seems to have carried out its duties with extreme care and accuracy ; and, as far as one can judge at this distance of time, with sympathy and justice. It is probable that a close examination would show no basis of fact for the contemporary charges of partiality, and that where mistakes were made the fault lay rather with unworthy recipients than with the Committee.

FRENCH PROTESTANT REFUGEES.

ACCOUNTS AND ACQUITTANCES FOR AID GIVEN,
1693—1718.

N.B.—The recipients were divided into classes, but the numbering of the classes was altered from time to time. Thus Class 1 does not always denote the same kind of recipients.

ACCOUNTS AND ACQUITTANCES RELATING TO THE SUM OF £11,829 5s. 10½d.
RAISED ON THE BRIEF OF MARCH 31st, 1694.

Year.	Class.		
A.D. 1693/4.		A thin folio marked on the cover	
		‘An Account for the ten per cent. taken out on two Accounts No. 1 and No. 2 Amounting to £541 14s.’	
		and in the inside	
		‘An account of the sum of Five hundred forty one pounds fourteen shillings a raising of the ten per cent. in the sums contained in two Accounts of Distribution made to the Poor French Refugies of the money collected in their behalf by vertue of his Majesty’s brief dated March 31st 1694 and allowed by the Rt. Honble. the Lords Directors for the said Distribution unto the French Committee towards their reembursement of the like sum by them advanced to the said Refugies.	
		viz. :	
		Allow’d out of the Sum of £4017.16.00. contained in the account No. 1 rendered to their Lordships the . . . 1695	£401 14 0
		More Allow’d out of £2582 4 ,, contained in the Account No. 2 rendered to their Lpps the . . . 1695	£140 ,, ,,
			£541 14 ,,’
		Bundle of Accounts corresponding with Account-Book A of 1693—4 :—	
		Accounts numbered 1—24, extending into 1694 for aid for—	
		Sick & burials in the Savoy, New Church, Greek Street, Spitalfields and the district of the office of the Committee.	
		Women & children in the Savoy, New Church, Greek St. Sick & burials at the office and department of ‘Normandy.’	
		Orphans, lunatics or feeble minded.	
		Sick at the Pest House.	
		Accounts of surgeons and undertakers.	
A.D. 1694/5.		Account Book No. 1 & Acquittances for £4017 16s., missing.	

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| Year.
A.D. 1694/5. | Class.
A folio Book marked on the outside
'Accomp ^t No. 2 November 1694—January 1694/5' and
described on the title page as follows :—
'An Account of the Distribution made to the Poor
French Protestant Refugies of the Money proceeding
both from the Subscriptions and of the Collect granted
by the King's most Excellent Maj ^{ty} the 31st March
1694; all in the behalf & towards the Relief of the
said Refugies; which Distribution was made by the
French Committee in pursuance to the direction given
to them by the R.R. Hon ^{bles} the Lords Directors ap-
pointed for the Regulation of the said distribution
Amounting to £2582.04.00.' |
|-----------------------|--|
- Bundles of Receipts corresponding with Account Book No. 2,
A.D. 1694/5 :—
1. Acquittances, numbered 1/1 to 1/79, mainly Nov. 1694.
 Marked on wrapper, 'No. 1 Accompt. No. 2.'
 'Acquittances of the Ministers living in London.'
 2. Acquittances, numbered 2/1 to 2/11 and 3/12, mainly
 Nov. 1694. Marked on wrapper 'No. 2 Accompt No. 2.'
 'Acquittances of the Ministers of the Churches settled
 in the several Countreys.'
 3. An Acquittance marked 3/1 dated 13 Jan. 1694/5.
 Acquittances, numbered 3/1 to 3/8, mainly Nov. 1694.
 Marked on wrapper 'No. 3 Acct. No. 2.'
 'Acquittances of the Churchwardens of the Churches
 settled in the Countreys.'
 4. Acquittances, numbered 4/1 to 4/31, Nov.—Dec. 1694. Marked
 on wrapper 'No. 4. Acct. No. 2.'
 'Acquittances of the Ministers ordained since their
 coming out of France.'
 5. Acquittances, numbered 5/1 to 5/141, mainly Nov. 1694.
 Cover missing, but the names are those of 'People of the
 best quality.'
 6. Acquittances, numbered 6/1 to 6/341, mainly Nov. 1694.
 Marked on the cover 'No. 6 Acct. No. 2.'
 'Acquittances of the people of the Middle Condition.'
 7. Accounts & Acquittances, numbered 7/1 to 7/29, Nov. 1694
 Ap. 1695. Marked on cover 'No. 7 Acct. No. 2.'
 'Accounts & Acquittances from the meaner sort of
 people and other expenses.'
 Sick and others of the 'bureaux' & 'departements'
 of Normandy, Guyenne, Ile de France, New Church
 Spitalfields, Soho, Greek St.
 Orphans and feeble-minded.
 Sick at the Pest House.
 Accounts of surgeons and undertakers.
 Refugees at Rye, Thorpe, Dover, and Ipswich.
 8. Acquittances, numbered 8/1 to 8/29, mainly Nov. 1694.
 Marked on cover 'No. 8 Acct. No. 2.'
 'Acquittances of the £50 distributed in extraordinary
 assistance.'
- | | |
|--------------|--|
| A.D. 1695/6. | Account Book No. 3 & Acquittances for the sum approxi-
mately of £1600 0s. 0d. missing. |
|--------------|--|

Year. Class.
A.D. 1695/6.

A folio Book marked on the Cover

'An Accompt. of Money distributed to the Poor French Protest^{es} Refugee Proceeding from the Brief dated March 31st 1694.

'Amounting to £1500.00.00. Being part of the afore-said Brief. Distributed in June 1695.

'No. 4.'

Bundles of Receipts corresponding with Account Book No. 4,
A.D. 1695-6 :—

1. Acquittances marked 1/1 to 1/69, mainly dated June 1695, for money received from the Collection on a Brief of 31 March 1694.

No cover, but clearly No. 1 Acct. No. 4.

'Acquittances of Ministers living in London.'

2. Acquittances, numbered 2/1 to 2/11, mainly July 1695. Marked on cover 'No. 2 Acct. No. 4.'

'Acquittances of the Ministers of the several churches settled in the Country.'

3. Acquittances, numbered 3/1 to 3/8, mainly July 1695, signed by Churchwardens of churches in the country for aid from the collection on the Brief of March 31, 1694.

4. Acquittances, numbered 4/1 to 4/25, mainly June and July 1695.

No cover.

'Acquittances of the Ministers ordained since their coming out of France.'

5. Acquittances, numbered 5/1 to 5/130, mainly July 1695, for money from the collection on the Brief of March 31, 1694.

No cover.

'Acquittances from people of the best quality.'

6. Acquittances, numbered 6/1 to 6/315, mainly June & July 1695, for money from the collection on the Brief of March 31st 1694.

'Acquittances of people of the middle condition.'

7. Accounts & Acquittances, numbered 7/1 to 7/32, dated 1695.

No cover.

Poor & Sick of London, Spitalfield, the Canal, Savoy, Soho, Greek Street.

Orphans.

Sick in the Pest House.

Surgeons' Bills, burial expenses, schoolmasters' bills.

Poor at Canterbury, Plymouth, Exeter, Rye, Thorpe and Dover.

A.D. 1695/6.

A folio book marked on the cover :

'An Accompt. of Money distributed to the Poor French Protestants Refugies. Proceeding from the Brief dated March the 31st 1694.

'Amounting to £1688.00.00. Being part of the Brief afore said & subscriptions Distributed in March 1695/6.

'No. 5.'

Bundles of Receipts corresponding with Account Book No. 5,
A.D. 1695-6 :—

1. Receipts missing. See Account Book for List of Ministers living in London.

- | Year. | Class. |
|--------------|---|
| A.D. 1695/6. | 2. Acquittances numbered 2/1 to 2/11, mainly dated March 1695/6.
No cover.
‘Acquittances of ministers settled in various parts of the country.’ |
| | 3. Acquittances, numbered 3/1 to 3/9, mainly March 1695/6, signed by Churchwardens of Churches in the country for aid from the collection on the Brief of March 31, 1694. |
| | 4. Acquittances, numbered 4/1 to 4/23, mainly March 1695/6.
No cover.
‘Ministers ordained since their coming out of France.’ |
| | 5. Acquittances, numbered 5/1 to 5/125, mainly March 1695/6.
No cover.
‘Acquittances from people of the best quality.’ |
| | 6. Acquittances, numbered 6/1 to 6/282, mainly Nov. 1695.
No cover.
‘Acquittances of people of the Middle condition.’
An incomplete bundle of receipts which does not correspond closely to No. 6 in Account Book. |
| | 7. (Accounts missing. See Account Book for ‘Accounts and Acquittances for the meaner sort,’ &c.) |

THE KING'S GRANT OF £100 A WEEK.

A.D. 1695/6.

A folio book marked on the outside :

- ‘An Accompt of money distributed to the Poor French Protest^e Refugees Proceeding from the £100 a week granted them by the Kings most Excell^t Majesty.
- ‘Amounting to £2100.00.00. for 21 weeks beginning the 25th April 1695 and ending the 18th Sept^r ensuing. £2100.00.00.
- ‘Distributed in August & October 1695.’
- ‘No. 1.’

Bundles of Receipts corresponding to Account Book No. 1,
A.D. 1695-6 :—

1. Acquittances marked 1/1 to 1/69, mainly dated Aug. 1695.
Marked on cover ‘No. 1.’
‘Acquittances of the Ministers living in London in the Acct. No. 1 of the King's weekly allowance distributed in August & October 1695’ (No. 70 missing).
2. Acquittances, numbered 2/1 to 2/13, mainly Aug. to Oct. 1695, endorsed ‘No. 2. Acct. No. 1.’
‘Acquittances of the Ministers of the Churches settled in the countreys for the Kings weekly allowance, Aug. & Oct. 1695.’
3. Acquittances, numbered 3/1 to 3/9, mainly Aug. 1695.
Marked on cover ‘No. 3 Acct. No. 1.’
‘Acquittances of Churchwardens of the Churches settled in the countreys for the Kings weekly allowance, Aug. & Oct. 1695.’
4. Acquittances, numbered 4/1 to 4/24, mainly Aug. 1695.
Marked on cover ‘No. 4 Acct. No. 1.’
‘Acquittances of the Ministers ordained since their coming out of France, made in Aug. & October 1695. For the Kings weekly allow^{ee}.’

- | Year. | Class. |
|--------------|---|
| A.D. 1695/6. | <p>5. Acquittances, numbered 5/1 to 5/133, mainly Aug. 1695.
 Marked on cover 'No. 5 Acct. No. 1.'
 'Acquittances of the People of the best quality made in
 Aug. & Oct. 1695. For the Kings weekly allowance.'</p> <p>6. Acquittances, numbered 6/1 to 6/331, mainly Aug.-Oct. 1695.
 Marked on cover 'No. 6 Accompt No. 1.'
 'Acquittances of the people of the Middle condition for
 the Kings weekly allowance.'</p> <p>7. Accounts & Acquittances, numbered 7/1 to 7/30, later
 months of 1695. Marked on cover 'No. 7 Acct. No. 1.'
 'Accts & Acquittances for the meaner sort & for
 several other occasions. For the Kings weekly
 allowance. Aid to Poor of the Savoy, Greek St.,
 Soho.'
 Orphans and feeble minded.
 Sick at the Pest House.
 Accts. of surgeons, physicians, schoolmasters, burial
 expenses.
 Poor at Canterbury, Exeter, Plymouth, Rye, Dover,
 and Thorpe.</p> |
| A.D. 1696/7. | <p>Account Book No. 2 & Acquittances for some portion of
 the period Sept. 18, 1695-Dec. 25, 1696, missing.</p> |
| A.D. 1696/7. | <p>A folio book marked on the cover as follows :
 'An Accompt of an Assistance made to the Poor
 French Protestant Refugies out of the money
 proceeding from the Weekly Charity which the
 King's most Excellent Majesty hath been graciously
 pleased to grant them towards their relief; The
 distribution whereof was made by the French Com-
 mittee according to the direction given by the
 Rt. Hon^{ble} the Lords directors appointed by His
 Majesty for the regulation of the said Charity.
 'Amounting to £1300.00.00.
 'No. 3.'</p> <p>Bundles of Receipts corresponding with Account Book
 No. 3, A.D. 1696-7 :—</p> <p>1. Account marked 1/1, 31st August 1696 for money granted
 by the King, April 1695.
 Acquittances numbered 1/2 to 1/8, mainly March 1696/7.
 'To the Ministers.'</p> <p>2. (Acquittances missing. See Acct. Book No. 3 for assistance
 'Towards the Maintenance of the Several Churches
 settled in the Country.')</p> <p>3. Acquittances numbered 3/2 to 3/96, mainly March 1696/7.
 'To the Persons of Quality and of the Middle Con-
 dition.'</p> <p>4. Accounts and Acquittances, numbered 4/1 to 4/37, 1696.
 Marked on cover 'No. 4 Acct. No. 3.'
 'Acquittances & Accounts for assistance to the
 People of the Meaner Sort & for several other
 occasions. Out of the King's Weekly Allowance.'
 Sick, &c., in Spitalfields.
 Orphans and feeble-minded.
 Sick at the Pest House.
 Bills of surgeons, physicians, & schoolmasters.</p> |

THE PARLIAMENTARY GRANT OF £15,000.

- | Year. | Class. | |
|--------------|--------|---|
| A.D. 1696/7. | | Account Books Nos. 1 and 2, for £2085 10s. 9d., and the remainder of a grant of £12,000, missing. |
| A.D. 1697/8. | | A folio book marked on the cover
'An Account of the Money received by the said French Committee towards the Relief of the said Poor French Refugies being part of the Fund granted them as followeth
'Aug. 30th 1697. Received of Edward Nicholas Esq., by order of the Rt. Hon ^{ble} the Lords Directors dated Aug ^t 24th 1697, Seven hundred Tickets on the Malt Lottery which being by consent of their Lordshippes disposed of have produc'd Five Thousand Two hundred & fifteen pounds 16s 9d as appears per the Particulars annex'd hereunto—
£5215 16. 9.
'No. 1.' |
| | | Bundles of Receipts corresponding with Account Book (No. 1) A.D. 1697-8:— |
| | | 1. Acquittances, numbered 1/1 to 1/139, mainly Sept. 1697.
No cover.
'Acquittances of people of the best quality.' |
| | | 2. Acquittances, numbered 2/1 to 2/478, mainly Sept. 1697.
No cover.
'Acquittances of people of the middle condition.' |
| | | 3. Acquittances, numbered 3/1 to 3/157, mainly Sept. 1697.
Marked on cover 'No. 3 Acct. No. 1.'
'Acquittances of several people for extraordinary assistance out of the Parliamentary fund given for the year 1697.' |
| | | 4. Accounts and Acquittances, numbered 4/1 to 4/45, mainly 1697. Marked on cover 'No. 4 Acct. No. 1.'
'Acquittances & Accounts of distribution to people of the meaner sort & for other occasions. Out of the Parliamentary fund given for 1697.'
Poor of Spitalfields & the City, Savoy, Greek St. Soho, Westminster.
Orphans and feeble-minded. Pest House.
Accounts of doctors & surgeons, burials.
Poor of Plymouth, Stonehouse, Rye, Exeter, Bristol, Dover, Barnstaple, Thorpe, Colchester.
Schoolmasters' bills. |
| A.D. 1697/8. | | A folio book marked on the cover
'1697. An Account of Distribution & Assistance made to the Poor French Protest ^t Refugies of the remaining part of the Parliamentary Sum granted to the Kings most Excellent Majesty towards the Relief of the said Poor during the year 1697 which said Distribution was made by the French Committee after & according to the Regulation made thereupon by the Rt. Hon ^{ble} the Lordes appointed by his Maj ^{ty} for the direction of this charity. Amounting this present Acct to £3,483. 03. 10.'
'No. 2.' |

Year. Class.
A.D. 1697/8. Bundles of receipts corresponding with Account Book No. 2, A.D. 1697-8 :—

1. Acquittances, numbered 1/1 to 1/139, mainly Feb. 1697/8.
Marked on cover 'No. 1 Acct. No. 2.'

'Acquittances of the Persons of Quality out of the Parliamentary Fund granted An. 1697.'

2. Acquittances, numbered 2/1 to 2/468, mainly Feb. 1697/8.
No cover.

'Acquittances of people of the middle condition.'

3. Acquittances, numbered 3/5 to 3/167, mainly Feb. 1697/8.
No cover.

'Acquittances of several people for extraordinary assistance.'

4. Accounts & Acquittances, numbered 4/1 to 4/42, mainly Feb. 1697/8. No cover.

'Acquittances & Accounts of distribution to people of the meaner sort.'

Contents as above, but including 'poor of Canterbury.'

A.D. 1698/9 A folio book marked on the cover

'May 1698. An Account of Distribution and Assistance made to The Poor French Protestants Refugies out of the money proceeding from the Parliamentary Fund granted for the Relief for the year 1696 which Distribution was made by the French Committee empowered to that effect by the Rt Hon^{ble} The Lords appointed by the Kings most Excellent Majesty for the Direction of this Charity money Amounting to £2488. 06. 01.'

'No. 3.'

Distributed mainly in May 1698.

Bundles of receipts corresponding with the above :—

1. Acquittances 1/1 to 1/21, 1/113, 1/115, 1/116, 1/122 to 1/124, 1/126, 1/129, 1/134.

'Persons of Quality.'

(For full list of recipients see Acct. Book.)

2. Acquittances 2/1 to 2/464.

'Persons of middle condition.'

3. Acquittances 3/1 to 3/322.

'Several urgent occasions.'

4. Accounts & Acquittances 4/1 to 4/42 of distributions to City, Spitalfields, Orphans, Pest House, &c.

'People of the Meaner Sort.'

A.D. 1698/9. A folio book marked on the cover

'December 1698. An Account of Distribution & assistance made to the Poor French Protest^{tes} refugies out of the money proceeding from the Charitable gift granted for their Relief for the year 1698 which was paid by the Kings most Excellent Majesty order to the French Committee who made the distribution thereof according to the Regulation made by the Rt. Hon^{ble} the Lords appointed by his Maj^{ty} for the management of this Charity money Amounting to £7182. 04. 01.'

'No. 1.'

Year. Class.
A.D. 1698/9. Bundles of receipts corresponding with Account Book No. 1, A.D. 1698-9 :—

1. Acquittances, numbered 1/1 to 1/132, mainly Dec. 1698 to March 8/9. No cover.
'Acquittances of People of the Best Quality.'
2. Acquittances, numbered 2/1 to 2/475, mainly Dec. 1698. No cover.
'Acquittances of people of the middle condition.'
3. Acquittances, numbered 3/1 to 3/413, mainly Dec. 1698. Marked on cover 'No. 3 Acct. No. 1.'
'Acquittances of divers persons of all ranks for extraordinary assistance out of the charity money given for the year 1698.'
4. Acquittances, numbered 4/1 to 4/15, mainly Dec. 1698. Marked on cover 'No. 4 Acct. No. 1.'
'Acquittances of several Ecclesiastick Proselytes out of the charity money given in the year 1698.'
5. Accounts & Acquittances, numbered 5/1 to 5/51, mainly Aug.-Dec. 1698. No cover.
'Accounts of distributions to people of the meaner sort' in—
City, Spitalfields, Savoy, Westminster, Greek St., Soho.
Orphans & feeble-minded. Pest House.
Bills of surgeons & physicians. Burial expenses.
Schoolmasters' bills.
Assistance to poor of Canterbury, Plymouth, Exeter, Stone House, Rye, Bristol, Dover, Thorp, Barnstaple, Colchester.
M. Braguier's expenses.

A.D. 1698/9.

A folio book marked on the cover

'April 1698. An Account of Distribution & Assistance made to the Poor French Protestants Refugees out of the Money which the King's most Excell^t Majesty was graciously pleased to order to be given to the said Poor for their Relief in the year 1698. The which money was distributed to them, by the French Committee appointed for that purpose by the Rt. R. Hon^{ble} the Lords named by his Majesty for the management of that Charity money. Amounting to £4632. 00. 09.'

'No. 2.'

Bundles of receipts corresponding with Account Book No. 2, A.D. 1698/9 :—

1. Acquittances, numbered 1/1 to 1/131, mainly April 1699. Marked on cover 'No. 1 Acct. No. 2.'
'Acquittances of Persons of Quality out of the Royal Gift for year 1698.'
2. Acquittances, numbered 2/1 to 2/467, mainly April 1699. Marked on cover 'No. 2 Acct. No. 2.'
'Acquittances of the people of the middle condition out of the Royal Gift for the year 1698.'
3. Acquittances, numbered 3/1 to 3/373, mainly April 1699. Marked on cover 'No. 3 Acct. No. 2.'
'Acquittances of several people of all Ranks out of the Royal Gift for the year 1698.'

- | Year. | Class. |
|--------------|---|
| A.D. 1698/9. | 4. Acquittances, numbered 4/1 to 4/15, mainly April 1699.
Marked on cover 'No. 4 Acct. No. 2.'
'Acquittances of the proselytes Ecclesiastickes, Out of the Royal Gift 1698.' |
| | 5. Accounts & Acquittances, numbered 5/1 to 5/42, mainly March, April, &c. 1699. Marked on cover 'No. 5 Acct. No. 2.'
'Acquittances & Accounts of the people of the meaner sort and other expenses out of the royal gift for the year 1698' . . . of
City, Spitalfields, Savoy, Westminster, Greek St. Soho. Orphans & feeble-minded: Pest House: Bills of surgeons & physicians, burial expenses.
Assistance to poor of Canterbury, Plymouth, Rye, Stone House, Exeter, Bristol, Dover, Thorpe, Barnstaple, Southampton, Dartmouth, Colchester.
Aid to French Protestant soldiers, 'cassés et réformés,' in Ireland. |

- A.D. 1699/1700. A folio book marked on the cover
'Anno 1699. An Account of Distribution & Assistance made to the Poor French Protestants Refugies out of the twelve thousand pounds which the Kings most Excellent Majesty hath been graciously pleas'd to allow to the said Poor distressed People, for the Relief for the year 1699 and which money hath been distributed to them by a French Committee under the direction of the R^t R^t Hon^{ble} the Lords appointed by his Majesty for the regulation of the said Charity Amounting to £7520. 6. 7.'
'No. 1.'

Bundles of receipts corresponding with Account Book No. 1,
A.D. 1699-1700 :—

1. Acquittances, numbered 1/1 to 1/134, mainly Dec. 1699.
Marked on cover 'No. 1 Acct. No. 1.'
'Acquittances of the People of Quality for the Charity money for the year 1699.'
2. Acquittances, numbered 2/1 to 2/464, mainly Dec. 1699.
Marked on cover 'No. 2 Acct. No. 1.'
'Acquittances of the people of the middle condition for charity, &c. 1699.'
3. (Acquittances missing. See Acct. Book No. 1 for assistance to 550 'divers persons of all ranks.')
4. Acquittances, numbered 4/1 to 4/23, mainly Dec. 1699.
Marked on cover 'No. 4 Acct. No. 1.'
'Acquittances of the Proselyts Ecclesiasticks for the Charity Money . . . 1699.'
5. Accounts & Acquittances, numbered 5/1 to 5/48, mainly Aug. 1699. No cover.
'Acquittances & Accounts of the Meaner Sort and other expenses.'
Poor, &c. City, Spitalfield, Savoy, Greek St. Soho. Orphans & Lunatics, Pest House, Surgeons' Bills.
Assistance to the poor of Canterbury, Plymouth, Stone House, Exeter, Rye, Dover, Bristol, Thorp, Colchester, Dartmouth, Barnstaple.

Year. Class.
A.D. 1699/1700. A folio book marked on the cover

'Anno 1699. An Account of distribution & Assistance made to the poor French Protestants Refugies out of the Twelve Thousand Pounds which the Kings most Excellent Majesty was graciously pleas'd to allow to the said poor distressed People for their Relief for the year 1699 and distributed unto them by the French Committee appointed by & under the Direction of the R.R. Hon^{ble} the Lords named by his Majesty for the Regulation of this his Royal Charity Amounting to £4504.12.6.'
'No. 2.'

Bundles of receipts corresponding with Account Book No. 2,
A.D. 1699-1700 :—

1. Acquittances, numbered 1/1 to 1/135, mainly April 1700.
Marked on cover 'No. 1 Acct. No. 2.'
'Acquittances of the Persons of Quality for the money distributed in Ap. 1700.'
2. Acquittances, numbered 2/1 to 2/501, mainly April 1700.
Marked on cover 'No. 2 Acct. No. 2.'
'Acquittances of the persons of the middle condition for money . . . Ap. 1700.'
3. Acquittances, numbered 3/1 to 3/15, mainly April 1700.
Marked on cover 'No. 3 Acct. No. 2.'
'Acquittances of the Ecclesiasticks Proselyts for the money . . . Ap. 1700.'
4. Accounts & Acquittances, numbered 4/1 to 4/36, mainly April 1700.
Marked on cover 'No. 4 Acct. No. 2.'
'Acquittances & Accounts concerning the meaner sort of people for the money distributed in April 1700.'

A.D. 1700/1. An account book marked on the cover

'Anno 1700. An Account of the Distribution and Assistance made to the Poor French Protestants Refugies into this Kingdom out of the twelve thousand Pounds which the Kings most Excellent Majesty was graciously pleased to allow for the Relief of the said Poor distressed People for the year 1700 and the which money was distributed unto them by the French Committee chosen by the R.R. hon^{ble} the Lords appointed by his Majesty for the Regulation of the said Charity and according to the Direction given by their Lpps to the said French Committee Amounting to £7986.01.7.'
'No. 1.'

Bundles of receipts corresponding with Account Book No. 1,
A.D. 1700-1 :—

1. Acquittances, numbered 1/1 to 1/150, mainly March 1700/1.
No cover.
'Acquittances of Persons of Quality.'
2. Acquittances, numbered 2/1 to 2/476, mainly Feb. 1700/1.
No cover.
'Acquittances of People of Middle Condition.'

- | Year. | Class. |
|--------------|--|
| A.D. 1700/1. | <p>3. Acquittances numbered 3/1 to 3/324 mainly Feb. and March 1700/1.
 Marked on cover 'No. 3 Acct. No. 1.'
 'Acquittances of the persons of all ranks for extraordinary assistance.'</p> <p>4. Acquittances, numbered 4/1 to 4/24, mainly March 1700/1.
 Marked on cover 'No. 4 Acct. No. 1.'
 'Acquittances of several Ecclesiasticks Proselytes.'</p> <p>5. Accounts & Acquittances, marked 5/1 to 5/74, mainly Feb. 1700/1. No cover.
 'Acquittances of People of the Meaner Sort and other expenses.'
 Assistance to poor in City, Spitalfields, Westminster. Orphans & feeble-minded: Pest House: Surgeons' and physicians' bills.
 Assistance to the poor of Plymouth, Stone House, Bristol, Barnstaple, Bideford, Exeter, Colchester, Rye, & Thorp.</p> |
| A.D. 1700/1. | <p>(Account Book No. 2, A.D. 1700, missing.)</p> <p>Bundles of receipts corresponding with Account Book No. 2 (missing) :—</p> <p>1. Acquittances, numbered 1/1 to 1/152, mainly June 1701.
 Marked on cover 'No. 1 Acct. No. 2.'
 'Acquittances of the People of Quality for part of the year 1700.'</p> <p>2. Acquittances, numbered 2/1 to 2/469, mainly May and June 1701. No cover.
 'Acquittances of persons of the middle condition.'</p> <p>3. Acquittances, numbered 3/1 to 3/328, mainly May, June, and Sept. 1701.
 Marked on cover 'No. 3 Acct. No. 2.'
 'Acquittances of several persons of all ranks extraordinarily relieved.'</p> <p>4. Acquittances, numbered 4/1 to 4/20, mainly Sept. 1701.
 Marked on cover 'No. 4 Acct. No. 2.'
 'Acquittances of several Proselyts ecclesiasticks for part of the year 1700.'</p> <p>5. Accounts and Acquittances 5/1 to 5/41, mainly May to Dec. 1701.
 Marked on cover 'No. 5 Acct. No. 2.'
 'Accompts of the distribution of the weekly assistance and for other extraordinary occasions. For part of the year 1700.'
 Assistance to poor of City, Spitalfields, Westminster. Orphans and feeble-minded.
 Pest House.
 Accounts of surgeons and physicians.
 Assistance to the poor at Canterbury, Plymouth, Stone House, Bristol, Exeter, Rye, Dover, Thorpe, Colchester, Barnstaple, Dartmouth, Bideford.</p> |
| A.D. 1702/3. | <p>(Account Book No. 1, A.D. 1702-3 missing).</p> <p>1. (Acquittances missing.)</p> <p>2. Acquittances, numbered 2/1 to 2/456, mainly July 1702.
 No cover, but apparently—
 'Acquittances of people of the Middle Condition.'</p> |

- | Year. | Class. |
|--------------|---|
| A.D. 1702/3. | 3. (Acquittances missing.) |
| | 4. (Acquittances missing.) |
| | 5. Accounts and Acquittances, marked 1 to 27, mainly 1702, but some Accounts of 1701 and 1703. |
| | Marked on cover 'No. 5 Acct. No. 1 Ann. 1702.' |
| | 'Acquittances & Accounts of money paid to the meaner sort of people weekly relieved & for other charges & expenses.' |
| | Assistance to poor of Brick Lane, Brown St. and Monmouth St., 'Wheelle Street,' Spitalfields Market, Westminster. |
| | Orphans and feeble-minded. |
| | Pest House. |
| | Accounts of surgeons and physicians. |
| | Assistance to the poor of Canterbury, Plymouth, Stone House, Bristol, Dover, Rye, Exeter, Thorp, Colchester, Barnstaple, Dartmouth, Bideford. |
| | Ecclesiastic Proselytes. |

- A.D. 1703/4. A folio book marked on cover
- 'An Account of the twelve thousand pounds which the Queen's most Excellent Majesty was graciously pleased to grant for the Relief of the Poor Laick French Protestants Refugees in to this Kingdom and to the said People distributed by the French Committee settled by the R.R. hon^{bles} the Lords appointed by her Majesty for the Regulation and direction of the distribution of this Charity money.'
- 'No. 3.'
- (£12004 18s. 6d. was distributed, leaving £4 18s. 6d. due to the accounting person, M. Braguier.)

Bundles of Receipts corresponding with Account Book No. 3
A.D. 1703-4 :—

1. Acquittances, marked 1/1 to 1/161, mainly July 1703.
Marked on cover 'No. 1 Acct. No. 3.'
'Acquittances from the People of Quality Anno 1703.'
2. Acquittances, numbered 2/1 to 2/461, mainly July 1703.
No cover.
'Acquittances of the People of Middle Condition.'
3. Acquittances, numbered 3/1 to 3/496, mainly July 1703.
No cover.
'People of all conditions for extraordinary assistance.'
4. Acquittances, numbered 4/1 to 4/11 July 1703.
Marked on cover 'No. 4 Acct. No. 3.'
'Acquitt^s from the Ecclesiasticks Proselyts Anno 1703.'
5. Accounts and Acquittances marked 5/1 to 5/22 mainly March 1703-4. No cover.
'Assistance to the meaner sort of people' in Spitalfields, Westminster.
Orphans and feeble-minded.
Pest House.
Surgeons' accounts.
Assistance to the poor of Canterbury, Plymouth, Stone House, Rye, Exeter, Thorp, Bristol, Dover, Colchester, Barnstaple, Dartmouth, Bideford.
Chaplains' and physicians' accounts.

- | Year. | Class. |
|--------------|---|
| A.D. 1704/5. | Account Book, possibly numbered No. 4, and Acquittances missing. |
| A.D. 1705/6. | Account Book in Guildhall Library MS. (possibly numbered No. 5).
'Estat de la distribution de la somme de douze mille livres sterling, accordee par la Reine aux pauvres protestants francois refugiez en Angleterre, pour l'an 1705.
'Administree ; sous les ordres des Seigneurs nommes par sa Majeste e par la Direction de Messieurs les Commissaires Anglais.
'A Londres : chez Paul Vaillant dans le Strand vis a vis de Bedford House a l'enseigne de Navire 1707.'
Printed : Another copy is in British Museum, 491 k. 5.
It contains lists of recipients, numbers in their families, places of origin in France, and present address.
The sum of £12,000 was fully expended. |
| A.D. 1706/7. | A folio book, marked on title page
'An account of the twelve thousand pounds which the Queen's most excellent Majesty was graciously pleased to grant, towards the Relief of the Poor lay French Protestant Refugees in this Kingdom, in the year One thousand seven hundred et sixe and to them distributed by the French Committee under & by the Direction of the R.R. Hon ^{ble} the Lords appointed by her Majesty for the Regulation of this her Royal Charity.'
'No. 6.'
(The whole of the £12,000 was expended.)
Bundles of Receipts corresponding with Account Book No. 6, A.D. 1706-7 :—
1. Acquittances, marked 1 to 153, mainly Feb. 1707. Marked on cover
'1 Etat. Quittances des Gentilhommes.'
2. Acquittances, marked 1 to 369, mainly Jan. 1706/7. Marked on cover
'2 Etat. Quittances de la Bourgeoisie.'
3. Acquittances, marked 1 to 334, mainly Sept. 1706 to Jan. 1706/7.
Marked on cover
'3 Etat. Quittances de l'Estraordinaire.'
4. Acquittances, numbered 1 to 12, mainly Jan. 1706/7.
Marked on cover
'4 Etat. Quittances des Proselytes Ecclesiastiqs.'
5. Acquittances, numbered 1 to 14, mainly Jan.-March 1706/7.
Marked on cover
'5 Etat. Quittances des Payemens aux Eglises des Contrees.'
(Canterbury, Exeter, Plymouth, Stone House, Dover, Rye, Bristol, Colchester, Barnstaple, Thorp, Dartmouth, Bideford, Wandsworth, Norwich.) |

- | Year. | Class. |
|--------------|--|
| A.D. 1706/7. | <p>6. Accounts and Acquittances relating to the Pest House, 1706/7, endorsed
 'Pest House. Sixieme Etat. Nos. 1-7.'</p> <p>7. Accounts relating to Orphans, 1706/7, endorsed :
 '7^e Etat Nos. 1 & 2. Orphelins de Londres et Westminster.'</p> <p>8. Accounts relating to schoolmasters April 1706—March 1707, endorsed :
 'Huitieme Etat. School master & mistresses Nos. 1-6.'</p> <p>9. Accounts relating probably to the 'meaner sort,' Oct. 1706—Oct. 1707.
 Endorsed on 1 Paper—9 Etat.
 Accounts for (1) Soho & Westminster, (2) Browns Lane, (3) Pettycoat Lane, (4) Brick Lane, (5) Wheel St.</p> <p>10. Acquittances of surgeons, &c., for services 1705/6, mainly signed Jan. 1706/7. Endorsed
 'Dixieme Etat, Nos. 1-5. Quittances des Medecins, Apoth^{res} & Chirugiens.'
 Detailed bills of M. Joyeux, Oct. 1705/6.
 Detailed bills of M. Descheaux, Oct. 1705/6.</p> |
| A.D. 1707/8. | <p>Account Book for 1707-8, missing (possibly numbered No. 7).
 1-4. (Acquittances missing.)</p> <p>5. Acquittances, marked 1 to 14, Dec. 1707-Jan. 1707/8.
 No cover.
 'Quittances du 5^e Estat qui comprend les Eglises des Provinces.'
 (Barnstaple, Bideford, Bristol, Canterbury, Colchester, Dartmouth, Dover, Exeter, Norwich, Rye, Plymouth, Stone House, Thorp, Wandsworth.)</p> <p>6. Acquittances, numbered 1-3, mainly March 1707/8. Probably 6 Etat. Endorsed
 'Depense de la Pest House depuis le 10^e Mars 1707-27 Mars 1707.' . . .</p> <p>7. (Acquittances missing.)</p> <p>8. Acquittances, numbered 1-6, mainly April 1708. Probably 8 Etat. Endorsed
 'Quittances des Maistres d'Escoles depuis le premier Avril 1707—31^e Mars 1708.'</p> <p>9. Accounts of distributions up to March 1707/8.
 No cover.
 Accounts for (1) Soho and Westminster, (2) Browns Lane, (3) Pettycoat Lane, (4) Brick Lane, (5) Wheel Street.</p> |
| A.D. 1708/9. | <p>Account Book for 1708/9, missing (possibly numbered No. 8).</p> <p>1. Acquittances, numbered 1 to 20, mainly July to Sept. 1708.
 No cover.
 'Etat 1. Quittances des Gentilhommes.'</p> <p>2, 3. (Acquittances missing.)</p> <p>4. Acquittances, numbered 1-20, mainly Dec. 1708. Marked on cover :
 'Quittances du 4^e Etat, qui comprend les Proselytes Ecclesiastiques.'</p> |

- | Year. | Class. |
|---------------|---|
| A.D. 1708/9. | <p>5. Acquittances, numbered 1-14, Oct. 1708 to Jan. 1708/9
 Marked on cover
 'Quittances du 5^e Etat qui comprend les Eglises des Provinces.'
 (Barnstaple, Bideford, Bristol, Canterbury, Colchester, Dartmouth, Dover, Exeter, Norwich, Rye, Plymouth, Stone House, Thorp, Wandsworth.)</p> |
| | <p>6. Two Accounts of Madeleine Liege for the Pest House : No. 22—
 March-June 1708 ; No. 23—June-July 1708.
 No cover.
 Acquittances and Accounts numbered 1-3 up to March 1708/9.
 Marked on cover
 'Quittances du 6^e Etat qui comprend les comptes et memoires de la Pest House.'</p> |
| | <p>7. Two Accounts dated 10 March 1709. Endorsed :
 'Payments aux Orphelins contenus au 7^e Etat £197 14s. 7d.</p> |
| | <p>8. Acquittances, numbered 1-6, mainly March 1709, i.e., 1708/9.
 Marked on cover
 'Quittances du 8^e Etat qui comprend les mes d'Ecoles.'</p> |
| | <p>9. Account of distributions for sickness, &c. Petticoat Lane, 20 Ap. 1708-30 Aug. No cover.
 9 Etat. 'People of the Meaner sort.'</p> |
| A.D. 1709/10. | <p>A folio book containing two sets of Accounts.</p> |
| | <p>1. An Account of £1308 10s. 7d., a portion of £12,000 granted for the year 1708 and expended as follows :—
 Pest House, Nos. 1-5—5 Accounts for the period March 25-July 7, 1709.
 Orphans, Nos. 5 and 6—2 Accounts for the period March-Sept. 1709.
 Schools, Nos. 7-9—3 Accounts for the period March-Sept. 1709.
 Distributions to the Common People, Nos. 11-15, March-Nov. 1709.
 Apothecary, No. 16—Sept. 1709.</p> |
| | <p>2. 'An Account of the twelve thousand pounds which the Queens most Excellent Majesty was graciously pleased to grant towards Relief of the Poor lay French Protestants refugees in this Kingdom in the year one thousand seaven hundred and nine and to them distributed by the French Committee under and by the Direction of the R. R. Hon^{ble} The Lords appointed by her Majesty for the Regulation of this Her Royal Charity.'
 'No. 9.'</p> |
| | <p>(£10,503 10s. 10d. is accounted for as expended, leaving £1496 9s. 2d. to be distributed and accounted for.)</p> |
| | <p>Bundles of Receipts corresponding with Account Book No. 9, A.D. 1709-10 :—</p> |
| | <p>1. Acquittances, numbered 1-140 (118 missing), mainly Dec. 1709. No cover.
 'Etat 1. Quittances des Gentilhommes.'</p> |
| | <p>2. Acquittances, numbered 1-398, mainly Dec. 1709. Marked on cover
 'Quittances du second Etat qui comprend la Bourgeoisie.'</p> |

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| Year. | Class. | |
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- A.D. 1709/10. 3. Acquittances for extraordinary grants, numbered 1-267, mainly Dec. 1709.
 Marked on cover
 'Quittances du troisieme Estat qui comprend les Personnes de divers rangs.'
4. Acquittances, numbered 1-26, mainly Dec. 1709. Marked on cover
 'Quittances des Proselytes Ecclesiastiques : Quatrieme Estat.'
5. Acquittances, numbered 1-13, mainly Jan. 1709-10. Marked on cover
 'Quittances donnees pour les Eglises de Provinces.'
 Probably 5 Etat (Barnstaple, Bideford, Bristol, Canterbury, Colchester, Dartmouth, Dover, Exeter, Norwich, Rye, Plymouth, Stone House, Thorp, Wands-
 worth).
6. Accounts and Acquittances, numbered 1-4 and 1-6, March 1709-10. No cover.
 'Quittances du 6^e Estat qui comprend le Pest House.'
7. Accounts and Acquittances, numbered 6 and 7, March-July 1709, corresponding to Nos. 6 and 7 Account Book 1, p. 2. (See Account Book No. 9, p. 47, 1709-10, for Orphans Accounts, July 1709-March 1710. Acquittances missing.)
8. Acquittances, numbered 1 to 6, mainly March 1709/10. Marked on cover
 '8 Estat. Quittances des Mes d'Ecoles de Londres et de Westminster.'
9. Accounts and Acquittances, numbered 1 to 5 up to March 1709/10. No cover:
 9 Etat. (Accts. for (1) Westminster & Soho, (2) Browns Lane, (3) Petticoat Lane, (4) Brick Lane, (5) 'Whillis Street').
10. Accounts of Physicians, from March 1708/9 to 1709/10. Marked on cover:
 'Quittances des Medecins, Chirurgiens, Apothecaires.'
 Probably 10 Etat.
- A.D. 1710/11. A paper:
 'Discomptes des Exchequer Bills.'
 'Estat du produit de soixante Billets d'Eschequier de Cent livres sterling chacun, receus par Messieurs de Gastines & de la Sabliere le 14^e Octobre, 1710. De Monsieur Compton, pour la somme de six mille livres sterling faisant moitié de celle de Douze mille livres accordez par sa Majesté pour les Pauvres Protestants François refugiez en l'Année 1710.'
- A.D. 1711/12. 8. Acquittances of Schoolmasters for various services, 25 March 1710 to Jan. 1711/12, numbered 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. Endorsed:
 'Chapitre 8. Quittances des Mes d'Ecoles.'
- A.D. 1712/13. 10. Acquittances for various periods of service, March 1710 to Sept. 1711 (some of the receipts dated as late as April 1713). Numbered 1-12. Marked on cover:
 'Ch. 10. Quittances des Medecins, Apoth. & Chirurgiens. Montant a £145. 10.'

Year. Class.
A.D. 1714/15.

A folio book marked on the title page

'An Account of the Twelve Thousand pounds which the King's most Excellent Majesty was graciously pleased By a Warrant dated the 18th day of November 1714 to grant towards relief of the Poor Lay Protestants Refugees in the Kingdom. And to them distributed by the French Committee under and by the Direction of the R.R. Hon^{ble} the Lords appointed by his Majesty for the Regulation of this his Royall Charity.'
(£12,015 13s. 10d. was distributed, leaving £15 13s. 10d. due to the Committee.)

Bundles of Receipts corresponding with Account Book,
A.D. 1714-5 :—

1. Acquittances, numbered 1-118, mainly March 1714/15.
Marked on cover
'Quittances du Premier Estat' (People of the best quality).
2. Acquittances, numbered 1-237, mainly March 1714/5.
Marked on cover
'Quittances du Second Estat de la lettre A to G' (People of middle condition).
Acquittances, numbered 238-455, mainly March 1714/5.
Marked on cover :
'Quittances du Second Estat de la lettre H a V.'
3. Acquittances, numbered 173-335, mainly Feb. 1714/5.
Marked on cover
'Quittances du 3^e Estat de la lettre H a la lettre V' (de l'extraordinaire).
For names A-G, see Account Book.
4. Acquittances, numbered 1-27, mainly Feb. 1714/5. Marked on cover :
'Quittances du 4^e Estat qui comprend les Proselytes Eccl.'
5. Accounts and Acquittances, marked 1-14, mainly Jan.-March 1714/5. Marked on cover
'Quittances du 5^e Estat, qui comprend les Eglises des Provinces.'
(Barnstaple, Bristol, Canterbury, Colchester, Dartmouth, Exeter, Norwich, Plymouth, Rye, Stone House, Thorp, Wandsworth, Jersey, Dover.)
6. Acquittances relating to the Pest House, numbered 1-4, dated 25 March 1713 to April 1714.
Account of the Pest House. Marked on cover
'No. 5 Compte de la Pest House depuis le 16 Avril 1714—24 March 1714/5.'
7. Accounts relating to orphans, numbered 1-3, Sept. 1712-March 1714/5.
8. Acquittances of Schoolmasters, numbered 1-5, from Dec. 1711-Dec. 1712. Marked on cover 'Chapitre 8,' &c.
9. Accounts of Distribution to the Poor of Westminster, Soho, London & Spitalfields, £2332 17s. 0d.

- | Year. | Class. |
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| A.D. 1714/5. | 10. Detailed Accounts and Acquittances for various periods of service to April 1712, numbered 1-5. Marked on cover 'Chapitre 10. Qui comprend les medecins, chirurgiens, apothicaires. Pour La Somme de £111. 19. 2.' |
| A.D. 1715/16. | <p>A folio book marked on title page</p> <p>'An Account of the Twelve Thousand Pounds which the King's Most Excellent Majesty was graciously pleased by a Warrant dated the 22nd day of December 1715 to grant towards relief of the Poor Lay French Protestants Refugees in the Kingdom and to them distributed by the French Committee under and by the Direction of the R.R. Hon^{ble} the Lords appointed by his Majesty for the Regulation of this his Royall Charity.'</p> <p>(£12,004 11s. 9d. was distributed, leaving £4 11s. 9d. due to the Committee.)</p> <p>Bundles of Receipts corresponding with Account Book, A.D. 1715-6 :—</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Acquittances, numbered 1/112, mainly Feb. 1715/6. No cover.
'Etat 1. Quittances des Gentilshommes.' 2. Acquittances, numbered 1-237, mainly Feb. 1715/6.
Marked on cover
'Quittances du 2^e Estat de la lettre A a la lettre G' (la bourgeoisie).
Acquittances, numbered 238-477, mainly Feb. 1715/6.
No cover.
'Quittances du 2^e Estat de la lettre H a la lettre Y.' 3. Acquittances, numbered 1/175, mainly Jan. & Feb. 1716-7.
Marked on cover
'Quittances du 3^e Estat de la lettre A a la lettre G.'
Probably 'Quittances de l'Extraordinaire.'
Acquittances, numbered 176-345, mainly Aug. to Nov. 1716, 'de la lettre H a la lettre Y.' 4. (Acquittances missing. See Account Book 1715-16 for payments to 32 'Proselits Ecclesiasticks.' 5. Acquittances, marked 1-13, dated March to Dec. 1716.
'Quittances du 5^e Estat qui comprend les Eglises des Provinces' (Wandsworth missing). 6. Two Accounts for the Pest House, 25 March 1715 to June 1716. 7. (Acquittances missing. See Account Book 1715-16 for 2 Accounts—Payments to Orphans.) 8. (Acquittances missing. See Account Book 1715-16 for Payments to Schoolmasters, &c.) 9. Account Book of distributions to (1) the Poor of Soho and Westminster on the warrant of 22 Dec. 1715, amounting to £1207 1s. 9d.
Accounts of distributions to (2) Browns Lane, (3) Brick Lane, (4) Petticoat Lane, (5) Wheel Street, (6) Spitalfields, dated to March 1716/7. 10. Accounts and Acquittances of Physicians, &c., numbered 1-6.
Marked on cover
'Chapitre 10. Medecins, Chirurgiens, Apothécaires. Montant à £195. 10. 1.' |

Year. Class.
A.D. 1717/8.

A folio book marked on the title page

'An Account of the Twelve Thousand Pounds granted by a warrant of the King's most Excellent Majesty dated the 2nd day of April 1717 towards the Relief of the Poor Lay French Protestant Refugees in this part of Great Britain call'd England. And to them Distributed by the French Committee under, and by the Direction of the Rt. Hon^{ble} the Lords appointed by his Majesty for the Regulation of this his Royal Charity.'

(£12,036 15s. 7d. was distributed, leaving £35 15s. 7d. due to the Committee.)

Bundles of Receipts corresponding with Account Book A.D. 1717/8:—

1. Acquittances, numbered 3 to 103, mainly Jan. 1717/8. No cover.
'Etat 1. Quittances des Gentilhommes.'
2. Two bundles of Acquittances, numbered 1/236, 237/485, mainly Jan. 1717/8. No cover.
'Etat 2. Quittances de la Bourgeoisie.'
3. Acquittances, numbered 1/198, 199/361, mainly Jan. 1717/8. No cover.
'Etat 3. Quittances de l'Extraordinaire.' Cf. No. 3, 1716/7.
4. Acquittances from Churches in the Country, numbered 1-14, dated July 1717, and Jan. 1717/8. No cover.
(Barnstaple, Bideford, Bristol, Canterbury, Colchester, Dartmouth, Exeter, Jersey, Norwich, Plymouth, Rye, Stone House, Thorp, Wandsworth.)
(Accounts 1-5 missing. See Account Book 1717/18.)
5. Acquittances relating to the Pest House, June 1716-Nov. 1717. Endorsed '4 Comptes d'Anne Bachellier depuis le 24 Juin jusqu'au 7^e Oct. 1717 montant à £550. 16. 1.'
Acquittances of Ministers of the Hospital, marked 5-7, from Aug. 1716 to Jan. 1717/8. Endorsed
'Quittances des Ministres de l'Hôpital pour £24.'
- Acquittances, relating to orphans numbered 8, 9, 10, dated Aug. 1715 to Oct. 1717.
6. Acquittances of Schoolmasters, numbered 1-4 April 1714 to 1716, signed in July 1717 and Jan. and March 1717/8. Endorsed
'Quittances des Mes d'Ecoles de Westminster & Soho Londres & Spittlefields de la somme de £105.'
7. (Acquittances missing. See Account Book 1717/8 for payments in Westminster, Soho, City, & Spitalfields, i.e. Browns Lane, Brick Lane, Pettycoat Lane, and Wheel Street.)
8. Acquittances, numbered 1-9, for services from 1712-Aug. 1716. Receipts dated 1717/8. Endorsed
'Physicians Surgeons & Apothicarys.'
9. Two Acquittances, marked on cover
'2 Quittances pour les Proselytes signees de Mr Chamberlayne des 2nd Juillet 1717 & 25 Avril 1718.'

Huguenot War Record 1914 1919.

EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL RETURNS BY
THE REV. WILLIAM GEORGE CAZALET.

THIS record does not claim to be a complete list of the descendants of Huguenot refugees who fought for France and England in the Great War. It is a simple statement of the War services of the Fellows of the Huguenot Society and their families. Unfortunately space does not permit full particulars to be printed, but the original *questionnaires*, giving in many cases elaborate details of services and engagements, will be bound up and preserved among the most cherished possessions of the Society.

The names of those whose deaths are directly attributable to the War are marked with a ✠.

The ordinary General Service and Allies' medals have been omitted, except in cases of women, as having been awarded to *all* who served at sea or overseas. The 1914 and 1915 Stars are given, where known, as being a special distinction for those who took part in the early portion of the War.

The Editor asks forgiveness for any inaccuracies or omissions that may be found, but he has had no opportunity of referring to those whose forms were incomplete.

As this Record may fall into the hands of some who have not studied the history of our race, a few notes on that subject may be helpful.

French refugees came over in thousands at a time when the population of this country was anything between one-tenth and one-sixth of what it is at present. Twenty years before the Massacre of St. Bartholomew they were numerous enough in Canterbury for the Crypt of the Cathedral to be assigned

to them for their services, which are still being held there. The greatest influx took place after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. In Queen Anne's reign there were thirty Huguenot churches in London alone. By 1800 most of them had disappeared through the absorption of their congregations into the population of England.

The Huguenots who came to our shores, it must be remembered, were mostly aristocrats, merchants, clergymen, or skilled artisans, all persons of education, or, at least of intelligence; and they coalesced with the upper and middle classes whose descendants are the backbone of our Navy and Army. Moreover, many of them appear to have been of what Mendelists would call the 'dominant' type.

They impressed their individuality upon their posterity. Many of their descendants to this day bear the facial French type, and presumably French characteristics also.

But over how great a field has their influence spread!

Besides many who have risen to eminence in all the learned professions, which now include the Navy and Army, many millions of British subjects all round the world are now descended from our race, who, to borrow the epitaph from a Huguenot monument in Hackney Church, came 'relinquishing honours and family distinctions for the peaceful enjoyment of the Reformed Faith under the benign laws of this great and happy country.'

[NOTE.—The Form of Questions which was issued by the Society for this Record is shown on the following page. Should the issue of the following summary of the returns which have been already received result in any large numbers of new applications for inclusion, the Council will consider the reissue of the Record with such additions and in separate form should the demand for copies be sufficient.]

HUGUENOT WAR RECORD 1914-1919

- (a) Surname :
- (b) Christian Names in full :
- (c) Name of Huguenot family from which descended if different from (a) :
- (d) Rank in Navy, Army, or Air Force, or appointment in Civilian Services of the Crown held or obtained during War :
- (e) Honours, decorations, etc., won during War :
- (f) Campaigns and actions in which engaged, or other special War Services :
- (g) Date and particulars of death if incurred through War Service :

Signature of Informant

HUGUENOT WAR RECORD

- ✠ ADAM, Arthur Innes. Capt., Cambridgeshire Regt. France 1915-16. Presumed killed, Battle of Ancre, 16 Sept. 1916 (*Michelet*).
- ADAM, Neil Kensington. Research Chemist, R.N. Airship Service (*Michelet*).
- ✠ ADAMS, Lestock Handley. Lieut., Rifle Brigade. Killed in action at Pacant Wood, 22 April 1918 (*Boileau de Castelnau*).
- ✠ ALLSOPP, Jerome Boileau. Lieut.-Col., S. Lancashire Regt. D.S.O. Killed in action July 1918 (*Boileau de Castelnau*).
- ANNEREAU, Ernest Benjamin. Musician, R.M. Band. 1914-15 Star. H.M.S. *Audacious* and H.M.S. *Queen Elizabeth* in Dardanelles and North Sea.
- AUBERTIN, Thomas. Capt., Acting Lieut.-Col., The Black Watch. Dispatches. France and Belgium 1914-19. Battles: 1st Ypres, Neuve Chapelle, Somme, 2nd Le Cateau, and other Fourth Army actions, till 11 Nov. 1918.
- ✠ AUBERTIN, William Aldworth. Temp. Capt., Acting Major, R. Welch Fusiliers. France 1915-17: Somme, Ypres. Egypt 1918-19. Died of pneumonia on service at Cairo, 20 Feb. 1919.
- AUMONIER, William Whitworth. 3rd E. Anglian Field Ambulance. Egyptian Army 1914-18: Suvla Bay, Gaza, and Jerusalem.
- AUSTEN-LEIGH, Richard Arthur. Lieut., Vol. Force (*Chenevix*).
- AVELINE, William Rebotier. Attached as a civilian to the W.O. and Ministry of Munitions. O.B.E. Organised and supervised the manufacture of High Explosives for the Ministry of Munitions, and supplies of Petroleum Spirit to the Army in France for the W.O.
- BAINES, Noel. Lieut., H.A.C. M.C. France and Germany 1915-19 (*Grugeon*).
- ✠ BAKER, Basil Howard. Lieut., Rifle Brigade. Wounded 1916, Beaumont-Hamel Attack. Killed in action, Mesnil Bouche, 22 May 1918, aged 21 (*Matthey*).
- ✠ BALLANCE, Leslie Arthur. Capt., K.R.R.C. 1st Battle of Ypres, 1915. Invalided home for 13 months. Killed in action on 27 Sept. 1916, while doing dangerous service for which he had volunteered.

- BANISTER, Constance Cecilia. V.A.D. Lady Cook in Red Cross Invalid Kitchens, Malta (*La Touche*).
- BARKER, Douglas. Pte. France 1915-17: Somme, Cambrai. Engaged in Dentistry 1917-19 (*Pascal*).
- BARNABAS, Rev. Jean Regliere. Honorary Chaplain (Presbyterian) 1916-17, Military Hospital, Canterbury, and French Teacher to Canadians (Fort Garry Horse) (*Cardinal*).
- BARNES, Thomas Durell. Capt., R.F.A. 1915 Star. France and Flanders 1915-19: Vimy, 1st Somme, Messines, Ypres, Retreat from Somme 1918, Lys, Retreat from Aisne to Marne 1918, Breaking of Hindenburg Line, Bellicourt, Le Cateau, Mormal Forest (*Le Vavas seur*).
- ✠BARTON, Arthur Keith. Pte., London Regt. Killed in action 1916 (*Boileau de Castelneau*).
- BAXTER, Ernest Henry. Capt. Wounded, 2nd Battle of Ypres, 1915. O.C. Company of O.T.C., Lichfield, 1916-18; 1918-19 W.O. Staff (*Riou*).
- BAXTER, Francis Riou. Sub-Lieut. and Lieut., R.N. T.B.D. *Grampus* in Gallipoli campaign. In April 1918 in command of T.B.D. *J.E.D.* in Mediterranean; in April 1919, First Lieut., T.B.D. *Versatile*, in Baltic against Bolshevik fleet (*Riou*).
- BAXTER, Ralph Philip. Acting Capt. and Adjutant, R.F.A. Dispatches twice. Wounded 16 Nov. 1915. Battles: Loos, Ypres, Le Verquier, Amiens, Cambrai, Maubeuge (*Riou*).
- BAYLY, Charles John. Capt., R. Inniskilling Fusiliers. Ypres 1915. Invalided to Home Service (*La Touche*).
- BAYLY, Edward Archibald Theodore. Major, R. Welch Fusiliers. O.C. 10th and 13th Sudanese Regt. in Egyptian Army. D.S.O. Dispatches twice. Sudan Medal, 3 clasps; Order of the Nile, 3rd Class. Conquest of Darfur. Command of Sobat Pibor District (Sudan). Palestine 1918 (*La Touche*).
- BAYLY, Kathleen. Honorary Manager of the Arklow War Workers Depôt (*La Touche*).
- BECKETT, Bessie Drummond. Deputy Div. Director, W.R.N.S.; Deputy Assistant Commandant, W.R.A.F.; also served in Women's Police (*de Boisragon de la Tiffardière*).
- BECKETT, Clifford Thomason. Capt., Acting Lieut.-Col., R.F.A. M.C. Gallipoli 1915. France 1915-16. Salonika 1917. Palestine 1918: Gaza, Jerusalem, Jordan Valley. France 1918: Merval, Bapaume, Le Catelet (*Chevalleau de Boisragon de la Tiffardière*).
- BECKETT, Walter Napier Thomason. Sub-Lieut. and Lieut., R.N. D.S.C. Coastal motor boats: Heligoland, Terschelling, Dogger Bank; Zeebrugge (7 April 1917) and North Sea in H.M.S. *Legion*. North Russia: Dwina River 1919 (*de Boisragon de la Tiffardière*).
- BELL, Ida. Nurse. Croix Rouge Français (Société de Secours aux Blessés Militaires), Insigne en or, Médaille des Epidémies (*La Touche*).
- BELL, Kathleen. Worker in French Food Department. Insigne en or (*La Touche*).
- BELL, Sheila. Nurse. Croix Rouge Français (Société de Secours aux Blessés Militaires), Insigne en or, Médaille des Epidémies (*La Touche*).
- BELL, Siric Francis Lorraine. Capt., S. Lancashire Regt. Cameroons 1915-16. East Africa 1917-18 (*La Touche*).
- BENSON, Edward Riou. Capt., Duke of Wellington's Regt. (*Riou*).
- BENSON, George Reginald. Major, R.F.A. France and Belgium, Sept. 1914 to Dec. 1916 (*Riou*).

- BENSON, John Ingham. Major, Gen. Staff (Shropshire Yeomanry). Dispatches four times and M.C. Egypt and Palestine (*Riou*).
- BENSON, Philip Riou. 2nd Lieut., R.E. (*Riou*).
- BENSON, Riou Philip. Brig.-Gen. C.B., C.M.G. Dispatches eight times. Officier Légion d'Honneur. France 1915-18: Neuve Chapelle, Ypres Salient, Kemmel, Somme, Beaumont Hamel, Arras, 3rd Ypres, Cambrai, Bullecourt, and Hindenburg Line (*Riou*).
- BENSON, Robert Edmund Ross. Rear-Admiral, R.N. C.B. (M.L.). 1914 Star. Active service at sea 1914 (*Riou*).
- ✠BENSON, Thomas Brooke. Lieut., R. Scots Fus. France 1914-15. Killed in action at Neuve Chapelle 12 March 1915 (*Riou*).
- BERENS, Atherton. Pte., R.A.S.C. (M.T.). East Africa (*Riou*).
- BISSET, Arthur William La Touche. Lieut. (Gunnery), R.N. In Grand Fleet 1914-18. H.M.S. *Marlborough* at Battle of Jutland (*La Touche*).
- BISSET, Henrietta Mary (Lady). Served on many important Committees in connection with War Pensions (*La Touche*).
- BLACK, Ellen Cecilia. Worked for British Red Cross Society (*La Touche*).
- BLAND, Charles Riviere. Major, London Rifle Brigade (*Rivière*).
- ✠BOILEAU, Edmund Knyvett. Capt., R.E. German East Africa. Killed in action, German East Africa, 18 Oct. 1917 (*Boileau de Castelnau*).
- ✠BOILEAU, Edward Bulmer Whicher. Lieut., Dorset Regt. France 1918. Killed in action at Sequehart near St. Quentin, while advancing to the attack, 3 Oct. 1918, aged 20 (*Boileau de Castelnau*).
- ✠BOILEAU, Frank Ridley Farrer. Col., R.E. France (Colonel on the Staff) 1914. Killed in action 27-28 Aug. 1914, at Ham, Somme (*Boileau de Castelnau*).
- BOILEAU, Guy Hamilton. Col., R.E. C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.; Order of Danilo, 3rd Class. European War 1914-18 (*Boileau de Castelnau*).
- BOISRAGON, Alan Maxwell. Major, R. Irish Regt. In Chief Cable Censor's Dept., W.O., Aug. 1914 to July 1919 (*de Boisragon de la Tiffardière*).
- V.C. BOISRAGON, Guy Hudleston. Col., 5th Gurkha Rifles. Dispatches; promoted Colonel. Order of the Nile. O.C. 1st Battalion 5th Gurkha Rifles, Suez Canal 1914-15, and at Gallipoli, where severely wounded.
- BOSANQUET, Alfred Percival. Pte., 1st Class (L.-Corpl.), U.S.A. Ambulance Service, attd. to French Infantry 1917-19. Croix de Guerre and Fourragère. Aisne-Marne attack, Oise-Aisne attack, Ypres-Lys attack 1918.
- ✠BOSANQUET, Armytage Percy. Capt., D.C.L.I. Dispatches twice. M.C. France 1914-15. Egypt 1915. Mesopotamia (2nd Exped.). Killed in action 22 Jan. 1917.
- BOSANQUET, Arthur Eric Sidney. Driver, Australian A.S.C., attd. 5th Light Horse. Gallipoli, Egypt, and Palestine.
- BOSANQUET, Arthur Francis Graham. Lieut., Midland Rifles, S.A. W. African Campaign: Upington, Orange River.
- BOSANQUET, Arthur Rivers. Lieut., Acting Capt., K.O.R. Lancaster Regt. M.C. France 1914-15, 1917-19.
- BOSANQUET, Bernard James Tindal. 2nd Lieut., R.A.F.
- BOSANQUET, Charles Richard. Corpl., R.W. Kent Vol. Head Special Constable, Tonbridge Rural Parish, Kent.
- BOSANQUET, Claude Henry. Capt., R.E. Dispatches. 1914-15 Star. France 1915-18.
- BOSANQUET, Sir Day Hort. Admiral, R.N. [G.C.B., G.C.V.O., etc.] Principal Military Representative, Herefordshire Tribunals.
- ✠BOSANQUET, Edward Claude Bernard. Lieut., 2nd Imperial Light Horse, S.A., and Capt., R.G.A. W. African Campaign: Gibion and Windhoek. Drowned with wife in *Galway Castle*, torpedoed 12 Sept. 1918.

- BOSANQUET, Elizabeth Feilde. V.A.D., 4th Berks. Italian ribbon 'Fatiche di guerra,' with 2 stars. 15 months Auxiliary Military Hospital, Ascot; 2½ years attd. to 1st British Ambulance Unit for Italy.
- BOSANQUET, Ernest Courthope. [Lieut.-Com., R.N. (ret.).] Capt., Uganda Marine. E. African Medal; recommended for medal by Belgians. On Lake Victoria Nyanza, E. Africa, 1914-18.
- BOSANQUET, Ernest Cyril. Corpl., Ceylon Planters Rifles. Assisted in Ceylon defences and quelling the riots throughout the War.
- BOSANQUET, Gaston Augustus Ives. 2nd Lieut., R.F.C. (Balloons). 2nd Class Agent and Capt., Intelligence Corps. Dispatches. France and Germany 1918-19.
- BOSANQUET, Geoffrey Courthope. Stretcher-bearer, City of London branch of British Red Cross Society (London Ambulance Column).
- BOSANQUET, George Richard SMITH-. Major (ret.), 3rd Reserve Cavalry Regt. of Dragoons. France 1915-18.
- ✦ BOSANQUET, Graham Bromhead. Brevet Major, Gloucester Regt. Dispatches twice. M.C., Chevalier Légion d'Honneur, 1914 Star. Brigade-Major. Twice wounded, Ypres and Richebourg l'Avoué. Killed in action at the Somme 1 July 1916.
- BOSANQUET, Henry Theodore Augustus. Lieut.-Col., R.A.F., and Capt., R.N. (ret.). Admiralty War Staff (Trade Division), R.N.A.S. and R.A.F., Head of Navigation Section. S.N.O., Dakar, W.C. Africa.
- BOSANQUET, Herbert Percival. Lieut., R.W. Kent Regt. and Bedford Regt.
- BOSANQUET, James Tindal Ives. Lieut.-Col., Border Regt. Dispatches. 1914 Star. Officer Corona d'Italia. Promoted Lieut.-Col. France 1914. Severely wounded at Ypres. D.A.A.G. at W.O. 1917-19.
- BOSANQUET, Lancelot George Vivian. Sergt., Australian 6th Light Horse; later the Armoured Cars. Egypt and Palestine. Took prisoner Turkish General and Staff.
- ✦ BOSANQUET, Lionel Arthur. Lieut.-Col., Sherwood Foresters. Dispatches twice. Gallipoli Campaign: Ismail Oglu Tepe and Biyuk Anafarta. Wounded Aug. 1915, and shot by machine guns while leading his battalion 21 Aug. 1915.
- BOSANQUET, Mary Phyllis Emma. V.A.D. Various military hospitals 1915-18. France (Calais) 1918. Woolwich 1919.
- BOSANQUET, Nicolas Conynghame Symonds. Acting Capt., 11th Hussars. Instructor at Cavalry School, Upavon, Wilts.
- BOSANQUET, Sir Oswald Vivian. Indian Civil Service. K.C.S.I.
- BOSANQUET, Pauline Mary Catherine. Q.A.I.M.N.S. War Medal. Nursed at Dublin, Dilkuska, Lucknow, and Calcutta.
- BOSANQUET, Raymond Francis. Lieut., R.N. 1914 Star. North Sea 1914-17, Jutland Battle; Monitors off Belgian Coast 1917-18, Ostend and Zeebrugge.
- BOSANQUET, Robert Carr (Professor). Officer of British Red Cross Society; Agent of Serbian Relief Fund in Albania and Corfu 1916; Director of Serbian Relief Fund in Macedonia and Serbia 1916-17, at Salonika. Serbian Order of St. Sava, Royal Red Cross of Serbia.
- BOSANQUET, Robert Giffard. Capt., Australian Imperial Force, 2nd Light Horse Brig. Train. Gallipoli and France (Somme).
- ✦ BOSANQUET, Stanley Courthope. 2nd Lieut., Middlesex Regt. (Duke of Cambridge's). 1914 Star. France 1914. Killed in action 16 Dec. 1914.
- BOSANQUET, Theodora. Assistant Secretary to Food Council, Ministry of Food. Member of the Order of the British Empire.

- BOSANQUET, Victor Fulcrand. Chief Constable of the County of Monmouth.
- BOSANQUET, Vivian Henry Courthope. H.B.M. Consul at Riga 1914-17, Political Adviser to British Admiral in Baltic 1917-18, H.B.M. Consul-General at Reval 1919.
- BOSANQUET, William Cecil, M.D. Brevet Major, R.A.M.C., T.F. (Temp. Lieut.-Col. 1919). Served in India 1914-19.
- BOSANQUET, William Sydney Bence. Capt., Coldstream Guards. Dispatches. D.S.O. 1914-15 Star. France 1914-19. Wounded. A.D.C. to G.O.C., Fifth Army 1918.
- BOURNE, Kathleen Mauleverer. Temp. Clerk, Ministry of Munitions (*Fourdrinier*).
- BOURNE, John Charles. Metropolitan Special Constable 1914-19. Inspector 1916-19 (*Fourdrinier*).
- BOURNE, John Fourdrinier, Capt., Northampton Regt. Dispatches. M.C. France and Flanders 1915-19: Loos, Somme, Arras-Cambrai. (*Fourdrinier*).
- ✠BOWDEN-SMITH, Victor James. Lieut.-Comm., R.N. Dardanelles. Red Sea Patrol. Torpedo Lieut. in H.M.S. *Lucia*, 5th Submarine Flotilla. Killed with all his boat's crew, save one, whilst recovering a live German torpedo found floating in North Sea (*Minet*).
- BRAMSTON, Basil Gilstrap. Pte., 2nd Artists Rifles (*Chabot*).
- BRAMSTON, Herbert Parnell Gilstrap. Capt., Sherwood Foresters, T.F. France 1917-18. Wounded at Mont Rouge. Hon. Capt. R.A.F. 1918-19 (*Chabot*).
- BRAMSTON, Walter Gilstrap. C.S.M., Sherwood Foresters (*Chabot*).
- BROWNING, Harry Le Cronier. Pte., H.A.C. France: Ploegsteert, Beaumont-Hamel, Bullecourt (*Le Cronier*).
- BUSS, Fleetwood George William. Major, R. Fusiliers (City of London Regt.) (*Audry*).
- BUSS, Francis Buckley. Palestine 1917-19. Prisoner of War Staff in Cyprus 1919 (*Audry*).
- ✠BUSS, Hilary Thomas. 2nd Lieut., R.F.C., Military Wing. France 1915. Wounded. Killed in a flying accident near Stamford 21 Jan. 1918 (*Audry*).
- CAMPBELL, Dorothy Rosalinda Frances. Worked for the British Red Cross Society (*La Touche*).
- CARPENTER-GARNIER, George William. Lieut., R.G.A. Messines, 3rd Battle of Ypres (*Garnier*).
- ✠CARPENTER-GARNIER, John Trefusis. Major, Scots Guards. Retreat from Mons, Battle of the Aisne. Mortally wounded near Troyon (the Aisne) 14 Sept. Died 15 September 1914 (*Garnier*).
- ✠CAUSTON, Jervoise Purefoy. Lieut., Hampshire Regt. India and France. Killed in action while leading his company, when they were sent forward to fill a gap in the line 22 April 1918 (*Lefroy*).
- CAZALET, Rev. Arthur Mirrielies. Vicar of Teddington. Received 'La Médaille du Roi Albert avec ruban strié d'une rayure' for his zeal in making homes for 100 Belgian refugees.
- CAZALET, Clement Houghton. Major (Special List). Dispatches. D.S.O. Attd. French Cavalry 1914. France 1914-16. Mediterranean 1916-17 (Senusi, Palestine, Salonika), Mesopotamia (Baghdad) 1917, Italy, Salonika, and Gallipoli 1918.
- ✠CAZALET, Clement Marshall. Lieut., Wellington Mounted Rifles. Staff Captain. Egypt and Gallipoli 1914-15. On staff of Generals Godley and Johnston. Landing at Anzac Bay. Died of wounds received at Battle of Sari-Bahr 8 Sept. 1915. Buried at sea from hospital ship.

- CAZALET, Dorothy. Casualties Branch and Intelligence Branch at War Office 1916-19.
- ✱CAZALET, Edward. 2nd Lieut., Welch Guards. France 1916. Killed in action at Guinchy, 10 Sept. 1916 (buried at Citadel Cemetery, Fricourt).
- CAZALET, Edwin Percie. Lieut., M.G.C. (Cav.). Four years' active service in Salonika, Egypt, Palestine, and Syria.
- CAZALET, Guy Langston. Capt., R. Fus. Adjutant of Corps School in France and Brigade-Major. Dispatches twice. D.S.O., M.C. France and Belgium 1915-19: Ypres, Somme, Hohenzollern Redoubt.
- CAZALET, Jessica Mary. Served in Canteens at Boulogne and Etaples with Lady A. Forbes; later Officers' Canteens at Etaples and the Royal Arsenal, Woolwich.
- CAZALET, Lionel Austin. Lieut., R.N. North Sea 1914-15, H.M.S. *Test*. Admiralty War Staff 1917.
- CAZALET, Maurice Hamilton. Capt., R. of O., formerly R. Cardigan Artillery Militia. France 1914-15. Interpreter on Lines of Communication. R.T.O. and Corps of T.C.O. Invalided home Aug. 1915.
- CAZALET, Peter Crofton. Pte. (Officer Cadet). 2nd Lieut., R. of O. 7 months' Home Service at O.C. Battalion, Cambridge.
- CAZALET, Peter Grenville Lyon. Midshipman and Sub-Lieut., R.N. Served with Battle Cruiser Force.
- CAZALET, Robert George. Indian Army, R. of O. Lieut. (Acting Capt.), attd. 17th Indian Cav. Mesopotamia 1916-17.
- ✱CAZALET, Ronald de Bode. Pte.; Capt., Hampshire Regt. Dispatches several times. M.C., Russian Order of St. Anne (2nd Class), 1914 Star. France 1914-18. All actions Ypres section, and many others. Capt. on Gen. Staff and in Intelligence Branch of Tanks. After 1918 sent to Russia to report on use of Tanks in Russia. Landed 78 Tanks and instructed Russian officers in their use at the front. Died of cholera on active service with British Mil. Mission at Haffray, near Rostoff, on the Don (buried at Ekaterinodar 8 Jan. 1920).
- CAZALET, Stephen Lyon. Midshipman, R.N. Served with Grand Fleet.
- CAZALET, Victor Alexander. Lieut., 1st Life Guards. Capt. Dispatches. M.C. France (Household Battalion): Somme, Arras, Ypres, Versailles (Supreme War Council). Siberia (British Mission).
- CAZALET, William Stephen. Cadet to Lieut., R.N. Dispatches. At sea with Grand Fleet and on the Dover Patrol 1914-18. Served in H.M.S. *Cressy*, torpedoed and sunk by submarine; in H.M.S. *Neptune*; in H.M.S. *Carnation* (mine-sweeper); in H.M.S. *Matchless*; in H.M.S. *Lucia* for Submarine G 13. Actions: Heligoland Bight and Jutland.
- CAZENOVE, Edward. Major, O.C. 3/1 Northants Yeomanry. Commandant Agric. Distrib. Centre, Northampton.
- CHABOT, Charles James. Lieut. and Capt., R.A.F. Dispatches. France 1915-16: Battle of Somme, etc. Mesopotamia 1916-17. Defence of London 1917-18.
- CHABOT, Charles Ovey. Sapper, L.-Corpl., and Sergt., R.E. France 1916-19.
- CHABOT, Irene. Section Head, Military Massage Corps, 1916-17 (Epsom, Seaford, and Knowsley Park). R.N. Medical Service: Sister in charge of Massage at R.N. Hospital, Plymouth, 1917-19.
- CHABOT, Jane Ovey. Supervisor Casualty Dept., W.O., 1915-18.
- CHABOT, Stella. Section Head, Military Massage Corps: Military Convalescent Camp, Epsom, 1916-17; Military Hospital, Oxford, 1918-19.
- ✱CHALONER, Richard Godolphin Hume. Capt., Wilts Regt. France 1917. O.C. 20th Prisoner of War Co. Accidentally killed on the night of 2 April 1917 at Marquise-Ruisant. and buried at Calais (*D'Altera*).

- CHALONER, Thomas Weston Peel Long. Capt., Yorks Regt. (T.), attd. R.F.C. 1915 Star. Served with R.F.C. in Egypt, England, and France. Shot down while on a bombing raid on 1 July 1916, and was a prisoner of war for 2 years (*D'Altera*).
- CHAMIER, Adrian Charles. Brevet Major, formerly Lincolnshire Regt. Home Dispatches twice. Brevet Major, King's Birthday. Recruiting Officer 1914. W.O. Staff 1914-19.
- CHAMIER, Anthony. Lieut., Indian Army R. of O., attd. 90th Punjabis. Acting Capt., Assist. Political Officer, Mesopotamia. Dispatches. Mesopotamia 1917-19: Battle of Khan Bagdadi.
- CHAMIER, Barbara Dorothy. Forewoman, Timber Supply Dept., Board of Trade.
- CHAMIER, Eric Adrian Charles Deschamps. Capt., Lincolnshire Regt. Twice Acting Major for short periods. Dispatches. M.C. 1914 Star. France with Gloucester Regt. 1914-19. Wounded 1917; disabled 14 months; during last 9 months at W.O., and as Military Control Officer at Cardiff and Plymouth.
- CHAMIER, Frederick Thompson. Lieut. France 1916-19: Wytschaete, Messines Ridge, Ypres 1917. Shell-shocked 21 March 1918.
- CHAMIER, Henry Arthur Guy. Major, Brevet Lieut.-Col. Flanders 1914-16: 1st and 2nd Ypres, Neuve Chapelle, 1st Somme. Palestine and Syria 1918, including last battle.
- CHAMIER, John Adrian. Lieut.-Col., R.A.F. C.M.G., D.S.O., O.B.E. Egypt 1914-15: Defence of Canal. France 1915-19.
- CHAMIER, Richard Outram. Capt., Indian Army, 110th Mahratta Light Infantry. Mesopotamia 1914-15. Captured by Turks at fall of Kut-el-Amara.
- ✠CHAMPION DE CRESPIGNY, Claude Norman. Lieut., Queen's Bays. Dispatches. Killed in action at Néry near Compiègne, whilst holding a tactical point with 14 men, all of whom were killed or wounded.
- CHAMPION DE CRESPIGNY, Claude Philip. Comm., R.N. Dispatches twice. French Croix de Guerre. Mine sweeping or in command of monitors 1914-18.
- CHAMPION DE CRESPIGNY, Claude Raul. Brig.-Gen., Commanding 1st Guards Brigade. Dispatches seven times. C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Danilo Cross. France 1914-19.
- CHAMPION DE CRESPIGNY, Claude Vierville. Major, Suffolk Regt., and A.P.M. Dispatches. French Croix de Guerre and Chevalier du Mérite Agricole, Belgian Croix de Guerre and Ordre de la Couronne. France and Belgium 1914-18.
- CHAMPION DE CRESPIGNY, Constantine. Lieut.-Col. Dispatches twice. D.S.O. France 1916-18.
- CHAMPION DE CRESPIGNY, Frank. Capt., Australian Army. Dispatches twice. European War.
- CHAMPION DE CRESPIGNY, Frederick Philip. Comm., R.N. Dispatches twice. O.C. monitor, and general service.
- CHAMPION DE CRESPIGNY, Henry. Major, 56th Rifles, Indian Army. Dispatches. M.C. A.D.C. to Gen. Sir W. Birdwood, G.C.M.G.
- ✠CHAMPION DE CRESPIGNY, Philip. Pte., Australian Light Horse. Killed in action in Palestine 14 July 1918.
- CHAMPION DE CRESPIGNY, Tyrell Other William. Brig.-Gen., O.C. 2/1 S.E. Mounted Brigade in England 1915-16. France 1917. Corps Horse-master to VIII Corps.

- CHAMPION DE CRESPIGNY, Vivian. Major, R.A.F. Dispatches twice. M.C., D.F.C., Croix de Guerre. European War.
- CHENEVIX-TRENCH, Alfred Seward. Temp. Major, R.E. Dispatches. M.C. France 1914-18 (*Lefroy*).
- ✠CHENEVIX-TRENCH, Francis Maxwell. Major, R.F.A. Dispatches. France 1914. Brigade-Major, R.A. Killed in action at Ypres 31 Oct. 1914 (*Lefroy*).
- CHENEVIX-TRENCH, Lawrence. Major, R.E. Dispatches twice. C.M.G., D.S.O. France: commanding R.E., 62nd Division (*Lefroy*).
- CHENEVIX-TRENCH, Ralph. Capt. (Temp. Lieut.-Col.), R.E. Dispatches. O.B.E., M.C. France, North Russia, and in Sudan (Darfur Exp.) (*Lefroy*).
- CHOISY, James Denis. Chief Inspector of Headquarters Central Detachment, Metropolitan Special Constabulary.
- COLLINS, Sir William Job. Inspector of Hospitals for the Red Cross from Dunkirk to the firing line, Nov. 1914. Ophthalmic Surgeon to King George V (Red Cross) Hospital and to Queen's Gate Hospital, and Consulting Surgeon to Epsom War Hospital (*Garnault*).
- COLTHURST, George Oliver. Capt., South Irish Horse. 1914 Star. French Croix de Guerre. France 1915-18 (*La Touche*).
- COLVILL, David Chaigneau. Oxf. and Bucks L.I. M.C. Wounded. France 1918 (*Chaigneau*).
- ✠COLVILL, George Chaigneau. Capt., South Irish Horse. France 1917. Killed in action at Fontaine les Croisilles 30 Nov. 1917 (*Chaigneau*).
- COLVILL, James Chaigneau. Lieut., R.N. Atlantic, North Sea, Gallipoli, Dover Patrol (*Chaigneau*).
- COLVILL, Robert Lowry Chaigneau. Capt., R.E. Dispatches. Wounded. France: Battle of the Somme (*Chaigneau*).
- COLYER-FERGUSON, Max Christian Hamilton. Temp. Capt., R.A.S.C. France (*du Prié*).
- ✠V.C. COLYER-FERGUSON, Thomas Riversdale. 2nd Lieut. Acting Capt., Northampton Regt. France 1916-17. Wounded, July 1916, at Contalmaison, and fatally after a successful attack in which he captured two machine guns in 2nd Battle of Hooze, 31 July 1917, aged 21 (*du Prié*).
- COLYER-FERGUSON, William Porteous. Lieut., Northampton Regt. France 1916-17. Wounded twice at Battle of the Somme and 2nd Battle of Hooze (*du Prié*).
- CONGREVE, Cecilia Henrietta Dolores. 'Infirmière Principale' (rank of officer) in French Army. 1914 Star, Croix de Guerre, Reconnaissance Française. Nursed in Antwerp until German occupation, then at hospitals in France near Paris and at the front, 1914-18 (*La Touche*).
- CONGREVE, Geoffrey Cecil. Lieut., R.N. 1914 Star. Jutland and various destroyer patrol actions (*La Touche*).
- ✠V.C. CONGREVE, William La Touche.* Brevet-Major, Rifle Brigade. D.S.O., M.C., Chevalier Légion d'Honneur, Brevet Majority. France 1914-16. Killed in action, Battle of the Somme, 20 July 1916 (*La Touche*).
- * This officer was the son of Gen. Sir W. Congreve, V.C., and grandson of Capt. C. B. La Touche, who was recommended for a V.C. but was not given one.
- COURTAULD, Elizabeth. Assistant Surgeon and Anæsthetist to the Scottish Women's Hospital at the Abbaye de Royaumont, Asnières-sur-Oise, and at Villers-Cotterets. Attd. to French Army. Croix de Guerre, Médaille d'honneur des Épidémies en vermeille.

- CRICK, Edith Antoinette. Deputy Principal, W.R.N.S. (*Fourdrinier*).
- CRICK, Kathleen Evelyn. Women's National Land Service Corps (*Fourdrinier*).
- CRICK, Rev. Philip Charles Thurlow. Deputy Assistant Chaplain-General, VI Army Corps. France 1915-19 (*Fourdrinier*).
- ✠CROFTON, Hugh Lefroy. Capt., R. Inniskilling Fus. Gallipoli. Killed at Cape Helles, May 1915, in command of half battalion (*Lefroy*).
- CROFTON, Philip Duke. Lieut.-Comm., R.N. Served in Grand Fleet. Battle of Jutland. Air raid on Zeppelin sheds at Tondern 1918 (*Lefroy*).
- CROFTON, Richard Marsh. Adjutant of Cavalry at Dépôt, Ambala. Training and organising (*Lefroy*).
- ✠CROSSLAND, Roy. Lieut., Australian Engineers. Served in France. Killed in action near Albert 1917 (*Lefroy*).
- CUST, Lionel George Archer. Lieut., R.F.A. (temp. Capt.). Dispatches. France and Belgium: Bullecourt, St. Julien, Langemarck, Yser Canal 1917, Battle of the Lys April 1918. Taken prisoner at Ploegsteert (*Godde*).
- ✠DALBIAC, Charles James Shelley. 2nd Lieut., Northumberland Fus. France 1915. Killed in action at the head of the leading platoon of his regiment in the assault on the German trenches at Hooze 16 June 1915.
- DALBIAC, Herbert Charles. Seaman Gunner, R.N.V.R. D.A.M.S. Served as Gunner in merchant ships for two years. In S.S. *Diomed* sunk by submarine cruiser 500 miles from New York after one hour's fight.
- D'ALBIAC, John Henry. Major, R.A.F. D.S.O. 1914-15 Star. France and Belgium 1915-18: Belgian coast, Ypres, La Bassée, Somme, and Vimy Ridge.
- DALBIAC, Philip Hugh. Col., R.A.S.C. Raised and commanded 60th Divisional Train. France 1916. Salonika 1916-17.
- DALBIAC, Richard Henry. 2nd Lieut., Oxford and Bucks L.I. France 1918.
- DARLEY, Arthur La Touche. Surg.-Comm., R.N. Served in an armed liner keeping the trade routes, and later in the Grand Fleet (*La Touche*).
- DARLEY, Henry La Touche. Lieut.-Col., R.M.L.I. Promoted Lieut.-Col. German East Africa, and afterwards in the bombardment of the Dardanelles. Invalided (*La Touche*).
- ✠DARLEY, William Hastings La Touche. Major, 81st Pioneers, Indian Army. Dispatches three times. O.B.E. Wounded twice, losing a leg 1915. D.A.A.G. at G.H.Q. at Rouen 1916-18; died there 10 October 1918 (*La Touche*).
- ✠DE CAUX, William. Capt., Norfolk Regt. France and Flanders. Killed in action Battle of Somme, 15 Sept. 1916.
- DE LA MARE, Andrew Guy. Capt. Dispatches twice. M.C. France and Belgium.
- ✠DENMAN, Richard Charles. 2nd Lieut., Grenadier Guards. Killed in action at Gonnellieu, 1 Dec. 1917 (*de la Fontaine*).
- ✠DES VŒUX, Frederick William. Lieut., Grenadier Guards. Retreat from Mons, 1st Battle of Marne, 1st Battle of Aisne. Killed in action at the Aisne 14 Sept. 1914.
- DES VŒUX, Henry John. Lieut.-Col., O.C. 13th R. Fus. Dispatches twice. O.B.E. France 1915-16. Battle of Somme.
- DIXON, Wilton De Havêt. Trooper in Lord Strathcona's Horse, Royal Canadians. France and Belgium 1914-18. Wounded and invalided (*De Havêt*).

- ✠ DOBBIN, Fergus Le Fanu. Lieut., Gurkha Rifles, Indian Army. Recommended for M.C. Killed in action at Fort Sandeman, Baluchistan, whilst gallantly leading his men 16 July 1919 (*Le Fanu*).
- ✠ DOBBIN, Robert Alexander Sheridan. Lieut., R.G.A. France : Festubert, Givenchy, and Loos. Killed at Battle of Loos, 25 Sept. 1915 (*Le Fanu*).
- DOBBIN, William James Knowles. Lieut.-Col., Rifle Brigade, formerly Indian Army. Dispatches twice. C.B.E. Order of the Nile (3rd Class). Aegean Sea 1915-16, Egypt 1916, Egyptian Expeditionary Force 1916-18 (*Le Fanu*).
- DOBRÉE, John Awdry. Driver, Horse Artillery, H.A.C. Volunteered in 1914 and served six months until invalided.
- DROUGHT, James Justinian. Major. Dispatches twice. M.C. Croix de Chevalier de Léopold. E. Africa 1914-19 (*Drouet*).
- ✠ DRUMMOND, Eric Grey. Major, 4th Gurkhas [King's Messenger 1913-14]. France 1914 with Gurkhas. Killed in action near La Bassée 13 Nov. 1914 (*Boisragon*).
- DU CANE, Charles George. Territorial Captain 1915, Major 1917, Lieut.-Col. 1918. Dispatches twice. O.B.E. 1915 Star. Served with R.E. in France 1915-19 (*Du Quesne*).
- DU CANE, Florence Gertrude Louisa. Croix de Guerre, Médaille de la Reconnaissance. French hospitals at Dinard 1914-15, Compiègne 1916-17, and Beauvais 1918 (*Du Quesne*).
- ✠ DU CANE, Hubert John. Brig-Gen. 1914 Star with clasp. Military Attaché at Belgian Army H.Q. 1914. General Staff, Southern Army. Home Defence 1914-16. Died from overstrain brought on by war 15 June 1916 (*Du Quesne*).
- DU CANE, Sir John Philip. Lieut.-Gen. K.C.B. Grand Officer Legion of Honour. Retreat from Mons, 1st Battle of Ypres, Battle of Somme, etc., 1914-17; Battle of Lys, Military Representative with Marshal Foch 1918 (*Du Quesne*).
- DU CANE, Peter. Midshipman, R.N. North Sea with 4th Battle Squadron, 1917-18 (*Du Quesne*).
- DUCHESNE, Alfred Edward. Lieut., 40th Divisional Ammunition Column. France : Cambrai Front 1918.
- DUCHESNE, George. Corporal, Australian Imperial Force. France 1916-19.
- DUCHESNE, Rupert Leslie. Lieut., Yorks. L.I., attd. 2nd Lancers, Indian Army. France 1915-16. Ypres.
- ✠ DUCHESNE, William Sydney. Lieut., Australian Imperial Force. Gallipoli. Killed at landing 25 April 1915.
- DUPUY, Florence Stuart. Sister, T.F.N.S. 1914 Star. England 1914-15, Lemnos 1915-16, Egypt 1916-19.
- ✠ DUPUY, George Victor. Pte., 23rd London Regt. France : Festubert. Killed in action 25 May 1915, aged 24.
- ✠ ELLIOTT, Charles Lister Boileau. 2nd Lieut., Somerset L.I. Died of wounds 12 April 1917 (*Boileau de Castelnau*).
- ELYARD, Aubyn George. Pte. Orange Free State and German S.W. Africa 1914. France, Italy, and Belgium 1914-18 : Somme and many other battles (*Jourdain*).
- ELYARD, Edward Percy Thomas. Sergt. 2nd battle of Ypres, Battle of Loos. Salonika and Palestine (*Jourdain*).

- ✠FABER, John Benbow. Capt. M.C. Ypres, Loos, Festubert, Somme. Killed in action by a shell 17 Sept. 1916 (*de Dibon*).
- ✠FABER, Stanley Colt. Major, R.F.A. Dispatches. Belgium and France with the 'First 100,000,' 1915-17. Killed in action by a shell whilst commanding a battery at Beaurains, near Arras, 30 March 1917 (*de Dibon*).
- FACHE, Gordon Lancaster Mountford. Major. M.C. and bar. France 1915-18.
- FENN, Agnes Maude. An Administrator to Essex War Pensions Committee (*Fourdrinier*).
- FENN, Rev. Anthony Fourdrinier. Temp. Chap. 4th Class. Dispatches, France 1916-18: No. 8 C.C.S. and 21 Brigade, R.G.A. (*Fourdrinier*).
- FENN, Dorothy May. Administrator, Acting Deputy Assistant Commandant, W.R.A.F. Dispatches. London, Leeds, and Hayborough (*Fourdrinier*).
- FITZGERALD, James Brinsley Peter. Lieut., 4th Dragoon Guards. Dispatches. France (*La Touche*).
- FITZGERALD, John (Knight of Kerry). Major. M.C. France and Flanders 1914-17 (*La Touche*).
- ✠FITZGERALD, Maurice Robert. Lieut., Irish Guards. France. Severely wounded 13 April 1918, and died 19 April 1918 at Lenz in a German field hospital (*La Touche*).
- FITZGERALD, Peter John. Sub-Lieut., R.M. In North Sea (*La Touche*).
- FITZGERALD, Robert Brinsley. Capt. M.C., 1914 Star, Chevalier Légion d'Honneur, Chevalier Corona d'Italia, Chevalier Ordre de Léopold, Croix de Guerre (Belgian). France, Belgium, and Italy (*La Touche*).
- FLEETWOOD-HESKETH, Charles Hesketh. Major. France (*Tysack, de Tissac*).
- FLOWER, Rose Violet. Worked for British Red Cross Society (*La Touche*).
- FOLKER, Herbert Henry. Capt., R.A.M.C. Deputy Commissioner of Medical Services, Ministry of Pensions. O.B.E. Home Service (*Fourdrinier*).
- FORD, Denys Chester. Lieut., R.N. Mediterranean and North Sea 1914-18 (*Michelet*).
- FORD, Ronald Mylne. Lieut., S. Wales Borderers. Croix de Guerre avec Palme (French). France 1915: Neuve Chapelle, Richebourg, Loos. Wounded (*Michelet*).
- ✠FOUCAR, Clement August. Pte., London Regt. (Queen Victoria's Rifles). Battle of Hill 60. Killed by a shell whilst being carried off the battlefield on a stretcher wounded.
- FOURDRINIER, Amy Katherine. Section Head, Ministry of Pensions.
- FOURDRINIER, Amy Muriel Douglas. Women's Forestry Service.
- FOURDRINIER, Elsie Katherine Douglas. Ministry of Pensions.
- FOURDRINIER, Cyril Douglas. Pte., Canadian Infantry, and Lieut., Middlesex Regt. Wounded at Sanctuary Wood. Ypres Salient 1916. India (R.W. Kent Regt.) 1918. Aden (Hampshire Regt.) 1919.
- FOURDRINIER, Norman Douglas. Capt., Middlesex Regt. (Duke of Cambridge's Own). 1914 Star. Formerly Sergt. in Inns of Court O.T.C. France: 2nd Battle of Ypres, 1915. Wounded.
- FOURDRINIER, Paulette Mary. V.A.D. Nurse and Assistant Q.M., 2nd Southern General Hospital, Exeter.

- GERVIS, Henry. Capt., R.A.M.C. France, 20th General Hospital.
- GERVIS, Henry Sharland. Lieut., R. Sussex Regt. France and Palestine.
- ✠GIBAUT, Alfred Philip. Lieut. France. Killed in action, Vimy Ridge, 9 April 1917.
- GIBAUT, Harry Helier. Lieut. General Service : Siberia, Russia.
- GIBAUT, Joseph Tuzo. Lieut., Canadian Infantry. France : Hooge, Sanctuary Wood, Ypres. Wounded and invalided to Canada.
- GILLIGAN, Geoffrey Goyer. Lieut.-Col. D.S.O., O.B.E. Served throughout the War (*Goyer*).
- GILLIGAN, Jessie. Visitor to French Hospitals. La Médaille des Epidémies en Argent et la Médaille de la Reconnaissance Française. France 1914-18. La Bourboule, 3,000 wounded ; Châtel-Guyon, 5,000 wounded, supplied with extra comforts, extra food, wine, warm clothes, and help when discharged (*Goyer*).
- GODIN, Ernest Drayson. Corporal, Yorkshire Regt. France. Wounded at Cambrai.
- GODIN, Harold Eustace. Capt., Essex Regt. France.
- GODIN, John. Lieut., R.G.A. Dispatches twice. France. Wounded at Cambrai.
- ✠GODIN, Ralph Edward. Pte., R.W. Sussex Regt. France. Killed in action near Souchez, La Bassée front, 30 June 1916.
- GODIN, Stephen Walter. Capt., R.A.F. France.
- GODLEY, Alfred Denis. Lieut.-Col., O.C. Oxfordshire Vol. Corps. O.B.E. (*La Touche*).
- GODLEY, Brian Richard. Lieut., Indian Army. Dispatches. Mesopotamia 1918-19 (*La Touche*).
- GODLEY, Francis Clements. Brig.-Gen. Home Service 1914-16 (*La Touche*).
- GODLEY, Margaret Cecilia. Motor Driver, Women's Legion (*La Touche*).
- GODLEY, Raymond Denis. Lieut., R.G.A. France 1916-18 (*La Touche*).
- ✠GORDON, Alec William. Major, R.E. Dispatches three times. M.C. France and Flanders 1915-18. Wounded 1916. Killed in action 6 Aug. 1918 (*Michelet*).
- GORDON, Duncan St. Vincent. Capt., Indian Cavalry. Dispatches. M.C. France with H.L.I. 1915. Mesopotamia with 1st Bengal Cav. 1916-18 (*Michelet*).
- GRELLIER, Alice Maud. Canteen work in Epsom.
- GRELLIER, Annie. V.A.D. Nurse, St. John's Ambulance. Malta, Egypt (Giza Red Cross Hospital), Durban.
- GRELLIER, Bernard. Capt., R.A.M.C. M.C. France : Rouen, Ypres Salient, Somme. India : Afghan Frontier.
- GRELLIER, Cecil. Temp. Capt., Hampshire Regt. M.C., Serbian Order of the White Eagle. Gallipoli : Suvla Bay (wounded) 1915. Salonika 1915-18 : Struma River, Ghergeli.
- GRELLIER, Ernest Francis Waldemar. Capt., R.A.M.C. In charge of wounded in Mons retreat. Mesopotamia. Invalided to India.
- GRELLIER, Eva Mary. V.A.D. Nurse. Egypt : Giza Red Cross Hospital 1916-18.
- ✠GRELLIER, Gordon Harley. 2nd Lieut., R.G.A. France. Joined 51st Siege Battery at Cambrai, near Forêt de Mormal, and was killed the next day by a shell, 31 Oct. 1918.
- GRELLIER, Henry Harley. L.-Corpl., 2nd S.A. Horse. 2nd Lieut., R.F.A. M.C. German E. Africa : B.E.A.E.F. 1915-17. France with R.F.A. : German offensive, March 1918 ; Château Thierry in French advance, 1917-18.

- GRELLIER, Norman. Temp. Capt., R.A.M.C., attd. to Grenadier Guards. Dispatches. M.C. France 1916-19: Loos, Somme, Cambrai, Bourlon Wood, Hazebrouck, and march to the Rhine.
- GREY, Thomas Robinson. Sub-Lieut., R.N.V.R. (Anti-aircraft) (*Arnaud*).
- GRIMKÉ-DRAYTON, Victoria Mary. Voluntary Canteen worker (*Fourdrinier*).
- ✠GRUGEON, Stephen. Gunner, Australian Field Artillery. France. Killed in action 18 Sept. 1918.
- GUILLAUME, Alfred. Capt., Lancashire Fus. Dispatches. France 1916 (wounded). Egypt 1918-19, on the Staff of H.E. Gen. Sir R. Wingate (*de Guillaume, Seigneur de Cormainville*).
- GUILLEMARD, Bernard James. Capt., S.A. Medical Corps. O.B.E. Surgeon on staff of S.A. Military Hospital, Richmond, Surrey.
- GUILLEMARD, Eleanor Frances. V.A.D. Nurse, British Red Cross Society. Motor Driver, Canadian Imperial V.A.D., Whitechurch Auxiliary Hospital, Hants. Motor Driver, Canadian Red Cross H.Q., London. Attd. Metropolitan Special Constabulary (Air Raid Duty).
- ✠GUILLEMARD, Phyllis Louise. Army Nursing Service. V.A.D. 1915 Star. Reading Hospital. H.M.H.S. *Aquitania* and *Britannic* (Balkan E.F.). Died of influenza and pneumonia contracted on duty at Queen Mary's Military Hospital, Whalley, Lancs, 28 Nov. 1916, aged 25.
- GUILLEMARD, Ruth Antoinette. Army Nursing Service. V.A.D. 1915 Star. War and Victory Medals. Reading. H.M.H.S. *Aquitania* and *Britannic* (Balkan E.F.). Q.M. Military Hospital, Whalley, Lancs. Richmond Military Hospital. No. 32 Stationary Hospital, B.E.F.
- ✠HALL, Norman de Havilland. 2nd Lieut., Suffolk Regt. France 1915. Salonika Force 1915-16. Died of wounds at Salonika 7 Nov. 1916 (*Sauvaire*).
- HALL, Philip de Havilland. Lieut.-Col., R.E. Dispatches three times. D.S.O., M.C. France and Flanders 1915-18 (*Sauvaire*).
- HARENC, Roger Edward. Major (Temp. Lieut.-Col.). Dispatches twice. 1914 Star. France 1914-15. Adjutant of 4th Indian Cav. at Neuve Chapelle. Mesopotamia (attack on Sinn positions) 1915-16; later O.C. Ind. Base Dépôt, Army of the Black Sea.
- ✠HARVEY, Claude Lindsay. 2nd Lieut., R.W. Surrey Regt. (The Queen's). France. Wounded and missing, reported killed, near Cambrai 23 April 1919 (*Fourdrinier*).
- ✠HAVES, Stanley Alfred. Pte., Essex Regt., and R. Sussex Regt. Flanders 1917. Wounded and missing, presumed killed, at Tower Hamlets, Ypres, 26 Sept. 1917 (*Havet*).
- HAWES, Edward. Capt., E. Surrey Regt. India and Mesopotamia (*Lefroy*).
- ✠HAWES, Frederick Maxwell. 2nd Lieut., R.G.A. and R.F.C. Killed by accident to his aeroplane, Potter's Bar, Sept. 1917 (*Lefroy*).
- HENNIKER-GOTLEY, Anthony Lefroy. Assistant Political Officer, Northern Rhodesian Police. Served through the E. African Campaign under Gen. Sir E. Northey (*Lefroy*).
- HENNIKER-GOTLEY, George Rainald. Major (joined as Pte. in Aug. 1914). Dispatches three times. D.S.O. Given his Majority for services. France 1915 in M.G.C. Somme battles. Italy (*Lefroy*).
- HENNIKER-GOTLEY, Roger Alyn. Lieut., Lancashire Fus. Egypt. Palestine. France (*Lefroy*).
- ✠HINDE, Cyril de Villiers. Lieut., R. Berks. Regt. M.C. Recommended for V.C., but not finally awarded it. France 1916-17: Pozières, Metz-en-Coûtüre, Hooze, near Ypres. Wounded three times. Died of wounds 11 July 1917 (*Rousseau*).

- ✠HINDE, William Henry Rousseau. Capt., R.A.S.C. (S.R.). Dispatches. Passed as medically fit for home service only. Served at Richmond and Leeds. Whilst serving at Leeds died of pneumonia, 22 Oct. 1918 (*Rousseau*).
- ✠HOBART-HAMPDEN, George Miles Awdry. Lieut., R.A.F. and Oxford and Bucks L.I. France 1915-17. Wounded. Accidentally killed while flying at Upavon, 17 Sept. 1917 (*Michelet*).
- ✠HOLMAN, A. Acting Capt., Middlesex Regt. Killed in action, 1918 (*Malortie*).
- ✠HOLMAN, Geoffrey. Lieut., S. Staffordshire Regt. Killed in action 1914 (*Malortie*).
- HOLMAN, Hugh Wilson. Superintendent, Mercantile Marine Service, 1914. Hon. Sec., S. Croydon War Hospital, 1915-16 (*Malortie*).
- ✠HOLMAN, Paul. Pte., H.A.C. [formerly Barrister-at-Law]. Killed in action 1915 (*Malortie*).
- ✠HONE, Gilbert Bentôt. 2nd Lieut., R.F.A. France 1917. Killed in action at Ypres 19 Aug. 1917 (*Bentôt*).
- HONE, Niel. Lieut., R.F.A. M.C. France 1917-18: Arras, Ypres, Buzancy, and Cambrai (*Bentôt*).
- HOTHAM, Charles Ernest. R.N. In H.M.S. *Broke* at the Battle of Jutland (*La Touche*).
- HOUSSEMAINE DU BOULAY, Noel Wilmot. Brig.-Gen. Dispatches twice. C.M.G. France and Flanders 1914-15.
- HOUSSEMAINE DU BOULAY, Philip. Capt. (Acting Major), Egyptian Labour Corps. Dispatches. Order of the Nile, 4th Class. Gallipoli, Egypt (Western Desert), Sinai, and Palestine.
- HOUSSEMAINE DU BOULAY, Richard Francis. 2nd Lieut., R.A.S.C. 1918.
- HOUSSEMAINE DU BOULAY, Thomas William. Major. Adjutant, Rest Camp, Havre, 1914-18. 2nd in Com., 9th Yorks Regt., 1918-19; Le Cateau to Marville.
- HOVENDEN, Maurice. Coy.-Sergt.-Major, H.A.C. France (*Grugeon*).
- HUGHES, Eleanor Antoinette. V.A.D. Nurse, Rugeley, Staffordshire (*Fourdrinier*).
- HUGHES, Josephine Mary. Red Cross Ambulance Driver, Swindon, Wilts (*Fourdrinier*).
- ✠HUGHES, Lionel Holford. 2nd Lieut., N. Staffordshire Regt. 1914 Star. France 1914. Killed in action at Rue du Bois near Armentières, after having been in the trenches only four days, 29 Oct. 1914 (*Fourdrinier*).
- JAMES, Herbert Huleatt. Lieut., Manchester Regt., and Capt., R.A.F. 1915 Star. European War 1915-19. Wounded three times: Neuve Chapelle, El-Arish, and Somme (*Desaguliers*).
- JAMES, Herbert Lionel. Lieut.-Col., O.C. 2nd Battalion Manchester Regt. C.B., 1914 Star. France 1914-19 (*Desaguliers*).
- JEUDWINE, Sir Hugh Sandham. Major-Gen. C.B. 1915, K.C.B. 1918. Promoted Maj.-Gen. for distinguished service. Commandeur Légion d'Honneur, Commandeur Ordre de Léopold, Belgian Croix de Guerre. France and Flanders 1914-19: Marne and Aisne, three Battles of Ypres, Somme, Cambrai, Givenchy, and Festubert. Commanded 55th Div. 1916-19. Chief of Staff in Army of Rhine 1919 (*Jeduin*).
- JONES, A. Horatia. British Red Cross V.A.D. Head Clerk at Devonshire House. Served also at Hindhead, Rotterdam, and London (Air Raid duty). Obtained grant of 300 sheep from R. Agric. Soc. for devastated area of the Meuse, and helped to distribute them (*Majendie*).

- JOURDAIN, Albert Edward Towle. Lincoln Special Constabulary 1914-19, and Clerk to Munitions Tribunals.
- ✠JOURDAIN, Charles Edward Arthur. [D.S.O.] Lieut.-Col. commanding L.N. Lancashire Regt. 1914 Star, Croix de Guerre avec Palmes. British E. Africa 1914-16. Egypt and Palestine 1916-18. France and Flanders 1918. Killed in action near Grand Rozoy (Champagne Front) 29 July 1918.
- ✠JOURDAIN, Ernest Nevill. Capt., Suffolk Regt. France and Flanders 1915. Whilst defending a trench near Hill 60, Ypres, was killed in action, 16 Feb. 1915.
- JOURDAIN, Francis William Seymour. Lieut. (Acting Capt. and Adjutant) Connaught Rangers. Dispatches. France and Flanders 1916-18.
- JOURDAIN, Frederic Nevill. Sergt., Metropolitan Special Constabulary, over four years.
- JOURDAIN, Henry Francis Newdigate. Lieut.-Col. commanding Connaught Rangers. C.M.G., 1914 Star. Gallipoli and Egypt 1915. Macedonia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Turkey, and Aegean Sea 1915-16. France and Belgium 1917: Messines and 3rd Battle of Ypres.
- JOURDAIN, Percy Frederick Currie. Capt., K.R.R.C. M.C. France: Cambrai, Somme, etc.
- JOURDAIN, Raymond Oliver. Capt. and Brevet Major. Dispatches. 1914-15 Star, Order Corona d'Italia. France 1915-16: Somme. Staff Capt., W.O., 1917-19.
- ✠KENSINGTON, Sir Alfred. Chief Judge, Chief Court, Punjab, India, 1914-15. War Office 1917-18. Died through War service 2 Nov. 1918 (*Michelet*).
- KENSINGTON, Esmond Campbell. Capt. and Acting Major, R.G.A. France and Flanders 1916-18: Somme, Vimy Ridge, Messines Ridge, Ypres, Arras to Valenciennes (*Michelet*).
- KENSINGTON, Hugh Le Geyt. Lieut., Rifle Brigade. France 1915-16: 1st Battle of Somme. Wounded (*Michelet*).
- ✠KING, John. Pte., Australian Infantry. Killed in action at the Somme 1918 (*Lefroy*).
- KING, Reginald. Pte., 4th Brigade Australian Field Artillery. Gallipoli 1915 (*Lefroy*).
- LADELL, Robert George Macdonald. Capt., R.A.M.C. (T.F.). Gallipoli 1915: Suvla Bay landing.
- LA GRUE, Frederick George. Pte., Canadian A.S.E. 1914 Star. France and Belgium.
- L'AMIE, Abraham Ffolliott. Pte., Liverpool Regt., 1914. Invalided out of Army 1915.
- L'AMIE, Charles Edward. Pte., Canadian Scottish. France.
- L'AMIE, Frederick George. Pte., Canadian Pioneers. France. Wounded and gassed.
- L'AMIE, Frederick William. Corporal, R.G.A. France.
- L'AMIE, Harry. Pte. from 1914. France.
- L'AMIE, Horace St. Clair. Lieut., W. Riding Regt. (Duke of Wellington's). Salonika, against Bulgarians, 1916-18. France 1918, attd. Northumberland Fus.
- L'AMIE, James. Pte., Liverpool Regt. and M.G.C. France: 23 wounds at Battle of the Somme.
- L'AMIE, Kathleen Ffolliott. V.A.D. and Military Massage Corps. Limerick. Leeds, Bristol, 1914-19.

- L'AMIE, Rebecca. Nursing in military hospitals.
- L'AMIE, William George. Gunner, Canadian Artillery. France.
- L'AMIE, William Joseph. Surveyor of Customs and Excise. Work in connection with prohibition of trading with enemy and general restrictions.
- LANDON, Charles Richard Henry Palmer. Major, Staff. Acting Lieut.-Col., Burma Rifles. D.S.O., French Croix de Guerre. Seistan Field Force, E. Persia. N.W. Frontier, India (35th Scinde Horse).
- ✠LANDON, Harrop. Pte. Egypt. Somme, Ypres, Passchendaele. Killed in action at Zonnebeke 1 Oct. 1917.
- LANDON, John Palmer. Comm., R.N. In command of destroyer with Grand Fleet.
- LANDON, Philip Aislabie. Capt., Essex Regt., and on the Staff. Dispatches. M.C. France 1916-18.
- LANDON, Roger Palmer. Major, R.A. M.C. E. Africa 1914-18. N.W. Frontier, India, 1919.
- LANDON, Sylvanus Luke. Lieut., Indian Army. Mesopotamia 1917. Egypt 1918.
- ✠LANDON, William Mackenzie. Sergt. Passchendaele. Killed in action at Ypres 15 Oct. 1917.
- LAPAGE, Charles Herbert Swaine. Lieut. and Lieut.-Comm. Served in R.N. 1914-18.
- LAPAGE, Dorothy Marion. V.A.D. Commandant. Dispatches. (Home Service.) Acting Q.M., V.A.D. Hospital (100 beds), 1914-19.
- LAPAGE, Francis Claud. Capt., R.A.M.C. On qualifying for the Medical Profession in 1914 joined up at once, and served till 1918 in the East, chiefly in Mesopotamia and Persia.
- LAPAGE, Katharine Helen. Voluntary worker at aeroplane factory canteen. Member of Children's Aid Committee.
- LART, Charles Edmund. Capt. (T.F.). India 1914-16.
- LART, Edmund Louis Bertrand. Lieut. France 1916-19.
- LART, Ernest Howard. Lieut. France 1917-19.
- LA TOUCHE, Alexa Grace Digges. V.A.D. Nurse, British Red Cross Society. London 1915-17. Egypt and Palestine 1917-19.
- LA TOUCHE, Alexander Arthur Digges. Sub-Lieut., R.N. Midshipman in H.M.S. *Colossus* at the Battle of Jutland. Sub-Lieut. in P 4, Dover Patrol, and in Submarine H 28.
- LA TOUCHE, Alice Charlotte Digges. Overlooker, munition factory, 1914-18.
- LA TOUCHE, Annette Maude. Leader, Y.M.C.A. Hut, Parkstone, and St. John's Ambulance Nurse, Stourwood Aux. Mil. Hosp., West Southbourne.
- LA TOUCHE, Arthur Patrick Holloway Digges. Capt., London Regt. and Intelligence Staff. Dispatches. France 1917-19.
- ✠LA TOUCHE, Averell Digges. Lieut., R. Irish Rifles. Killed in action at Battle of Hooze, 25 Sept. 1915 (aged 30).
- LA TOUCHE, Cecil Huntingdon Digges. Major, 16th Cavalry (Indian Army). Dispatches. 1914 Star. Staff: Mesopotamia 1915-16, and South Persia 1918-19.
- ✠LA TOUCHE, Denis Digges. Capt., Welch Regt. (Pioneers). Gallipoli 1915. Killed in action in attack on Chanak Bair 8 Aug. 1915.
- LA TOUCHE, Digby Streynsham. Temp. Capt. in Army; Lieut., R.N.V.R. France 1914. Prisoner of War at Ruhleben 1914-15. Home Service 1915-17. Invalided out of Army as Capt. 1917. Pay Dept. Lieut., R.N.V.R. Malta, 1917.

- LA TOUCHE, Dorothy MacLeod Digues. W.R.A.F. Motor Driver. France and Cologne.
- LA TOUCHE, Edmund Digges. Pte. and Capt., R.A.S.C. (H.T.). France 1917-18.
- ✠LA TOUCHE, Everard Digges. 2nd Lieut., Australian Imperial Force. Killed in action, Battle of Lone Pine, Gallipoli, 5 Aug. 1915, aged 32.
- LA TOUCHE, George Godfrey Digges. Lieut., R.F.A. Wounded twice. France 1916-18: Hohenzollern, Somme, Arras, Cambrai, Amiens.
- LA TOUCHE, George Henry Stransham. Comm., Royal Indian Marine. O.B.E. Deputy Post Officer, Calcutta.
- LA TOUCHE, Ivy Isabel Digges. Massage Sister in R.N. Massage Service.
- LA TOUCHE, John James Digges. Capt., R.A.M.C. (Special Reserve). Dispatches. W. Africa 1915-16. E. Africa: M.O., K.A. Rifles.
- LA TOUCHE, William Francis Digges. Capt., Australian Army Medical Corps. Australian Imperial Force: Sidecup, Kent, and Bulford, Wilts.
- LA TOUCHE, William Frederick Digges. Capt., Border Regt. (T.F.). 2nd Battle of Ypres 1915.
- ✠LAFONE, Claude Alexander. Capt., Devon Regt. Dispatches. D.S.O. France 1915. Killed in action at Neuve Chapelle 12 March 1915.
- ✠LAYARD, Arthur Austen MacGregor. Major, R.E. Killed in action 5 June 1917 (*Raymond de Layaarde*).
- LAYARD, Charles Peter Julius. Major, R.G.A. Dispatches four times. M.C., Légion d'Honneur (Croix de Chevalier). France 1914-18: Neuve Chapelle, 2nd Battle of Ypres, Festubert, Somme, Messines Ridge, Passchendaele, German offensive on Somme (*Raymond de Layaarde*).
- LAYARD, John Willoughby. Cadet in Army. Discharged owing to ill-health (*Raymond de Layaarde*).
- ✠LAYARD, Peter Clement. Lieut., Suffolk Regt. (T.F.). Specially recommended for Staff work 1918. France 1916: severely wounded at La Bassée; advance of Fourth Army, 1918. Shot by sniper after the capture of Gonnécourt, while binding up a wounded German, 23 Aug. 1918 (*Raymond de Layaarde*).
- LAYARD, Raymonde de Burgh Money. C.M.G. Employed in Historical Sections of Committee of Imperial Defence and War Trade Intelligence Department in connection with Foreign Office (*Raymond de Layaarde*).
- LE BAILLY, Robert Francis. Major, R.A.F. (Technical Branch). Officer in charge of recruiting, R.N.A.S., 1915-16. Liaison Officer, Vendôme, France, 1916-19. Air Construction Service (Tech. C.E.) 1919.
- LE FANU, Hugh Barrington. Comm., R.N. In charge of 'Naval Centre' at Kingston, co. Dublin, 1914-18. Transport Officer, Dunkerque, 1918-19.
- LE FANU, Roland. Capt., Leicester Regt. M.C.; Croix de Guerre (avec Palme); 1914 Star. France and Flanders 1914-19. Mesopotamia 1916 (8 months).
- ✠LE FEAUX, Richard Frederick. Pte., Essex Regt. Dardanelles: Suvla Bay. Died at General Hospital Alexandria, 6 Nov. 1915.
- LE FEAUX, Stanley Walter. Pte., R.G.A. France 1916-19. Many engagements.
- LEFROY, Alfred Henry. Commissioner for Surrey in the Military Service (Civil Liabilities) Department.
- LEFROY, Anthony Langlois Bruce. Capt., R.A.S.C. M.C. Adjutant, 31st Division.

- LEFROY, Anthony Langlois Massy. Lincoln's Inn O.T.C.; 2nd Lieut. to Major, Devon Regt. India Gen. Service Medal with Clasp: 'Afghanistan N.W. Frontier, 1919.' India 1916-19: R.T.O. at Quetta, D.A.D.R.T. in Afghan War.
- ✠LEFROY, Bertram Perceval. Lieut.-Col., R. Warwick Regt. Dispatches three times. Chevalier Légion d'Honneur, [D.S.O.]. On Staff of 1st Division. In Mons Retreat. Died of wounds received at Loos, Sept. 1915.
- LEFROY, Cecil Maxwell. Capt., R.N. Dispatches for excellent gunnery while commanding H.M.S. *Swiftsure*. C.M.G. Dardanelles 1915. Ordnance Committee, Ministry of Munitions, 1917-20.
- LEFROY, Charles Edwin. Capt., R.E., later R.N.E. Employed on Train Ferries crossing the Channel and on secret constructive works against submarines.
- LEFROY, Charles Jeffrey Alexander. Capt., Sherwood Foresters. 1915 Star. France: Somme, Hooge, 1915. Italy; A.P.M., Italian Expeditionary Force.
- LEFROY, Christopher Benjamin Henry. Lieut., R.A.F. Joined Canadian Infantry in B.C. France 1916-18. Shot down and taken prisoner 8 Aug. 1918; repatriated Jan. 1919.
- LEFROY, Christopher Benjamin Langlois. Lieut., Canadian Forestry Corps. Served in the Vosges district.
- LEFROY, Edward Jeffry. Capt., Wilts Regt. France 1915-17: Festubert and the Somme.
- LEFROY, Ernest. Pte., 10th Brigade Australian Light Horse. Egypt.
- LEFROY, Francis Bruce. Lieut., R.N.V.R.; Capt., Motor Machine Gun Corps. D.S.C. and Russian Orders of St. Stanislaus and Vladimir. Russia, Galicia, Rumania, Persia.
- ✠LEFROY, Francis Perceval. 2nd Lieut., R.E. France 1915-16. Killed in action near Loos, 28 April 1916.
- ✠LEFROY, Fraser Keith. 2nd Lieut., R.F.A. France. Killed in action 7 April 1917.
- LEFROY, George Frederick. Capt., R.F.A. Dispatches twice. France 1915-18: Loos, the Somme, Arras. Staff Capt., R.A., 37th Division, B.E.F.
- LEFROY, Harold Maxwell. Lieut.-Col. Imperial Entomologist sent to Mesopotamia to destroy flies and take the troops up the Tigris.
- LEFROY, Harry. Capt. Canadian Artillery.
- LEFROY, Henry. Brevet Major. Dispatches. Staff Capt. to Inspector-General. First Assist. Superintendent, Royal Arsenal.
- LEFROY, Herbert Kitchener. Gunner R.A., France.
- LEFROY, Hugh Percival Thomson. Major, R.E. Dispatches five times. D.S.O., M.C., Chevalier Légion d'Honneur. France (Loos), Egypt, Palestine, Arabia, Cyprus, Mesopotamia, N.W. Persia, Salonika, Mudros.
- LEFROY, Jeffry. Pte., 7th Brigade, Australian Field Artillery. France.
- LEFROY, Langlois Benjamin. Corporal, Machine Gun Section, Strathcona's Horse. Joined up in Strathcona's Horse—with which he served in S. Africa—in 1914; was twice wounded and served throughout the War.
- LEFROY, Langlois Massy. Temp. Capt., R. Irish Regt. and Staff. Dispatches twice. Military O.B.E., 1915 Star. Gallipoli (Suvla Bay), Serbia 1915; Macedonia 1916-18. Constantinople 1919.
- ✠LEFROY, Patrick Egerton. Lieut., R.N. Commanded H.M.S. *Mosquito* (destroyer), 1914; also H.M.S. *Raccoon*. Killed in H.M.S. *Mosquito*, Suvla Bay, 1915.

- LEFROY, Robert Philip Perceval. Capt., R.F.A. (T.F.). France, Egypt, Palestine. In action on the Canal before Gaza; and the taking of Beersheba.
- ✠LEFROY, Tracy Edward. Major, R. Warwick Regt. Dispatches twice. Killed in action near Cambrai, 5 Dec. 1917.
- LEFROY, William Edward. Bombardier in 7th Brigade Australian Field Artillery. France 1916-18.
- ✠LEIGH, Percy Lemprière. Capt., R.G.A. France 1914-16. Died of wounds near Armentières, 28 Aug. 1916 (*Gosset*).
- LE MARCHAND, Cecil Henry. L.-Corpl., Canadian Engineers. France 1917-18.
- LE MARCHAND, Francis Edward. Capt., Gurkha Rifles; second in command, 39th Garhwali Rifles. Palestine 1918. Wounded.
- ✠LE MARCHAND, Francis Wharton. Temp. Surg. Served at sea 1916-19. Died 6 March 1919.
- LE MARCHAND, Hugh. 2nd Lieut. in 7th Reserve Cavalry; Lieut., 9th Lancers; Major and A.P.M. Dispatches twice. M.C. France and Flanders 1916-18: Ancre, Arras, Ypres Salient. Invalided home 1918.
- ✠LE MARCHAND, John Wharton Jones. Lieut., 56th Punjabi Rifles, Frontier Force. Would have been recommended for V.C. had he lived. Gallipoli: Suvla Bay. Killed in action while gallantly leading his Company of Gurkha Rifles, 9 Aug. 1915.
- LE MARCHAND, William Clarke. Commander of Hospital Ship *Karapara*.
- LESCHALLAS, Beaumont Pigé. Capt., R. Berks. Regt., and R.A.S.C. France.
- Low, Alexander Halley. 2nd Lieut., R.E. (*Chabot*).
- ✠LOW, Gerald Harland. Pte., London Scottish. 1914 Star. France 1914. Killed in action at Messines, 1 Nov. 1914 (*Chabot*).
- Low, Harriet Mary. British Red Cross motor ambulance driver in France 1916-18; Italy 1919 (*Chabot*).
- Low, James Chabot. Lieut.-Col., IX Army Corps. France (*Chabot*).
- Low, Philip Victor Chabot. Lieut., Black Watch, and R.A.F. Salonika 18 months; Egypt in R.A.F. 12 months. Fell 700 feet, but not seriously hurt, and then rejoined the Black Watch (*Chabot*).
- Low, Robert Fairweather. Cadet, O.T.C. (*Chabot*).
- ✠LOWRY-COLE, Arthur Willoughby George. Brig.-Gen. C.B., D.S.O., 1914 Star. France 1914-15: Armentières, Neuve Chapelle. Killed in action in attack on the Ridge of Aubers, 9 May 1915 (*La Touche*).
- LUARD, Charles Camac. Col. (Brig.-Gen.). C.B., C.M.G. India, N.W. Frontier, 1914-16; Waziristan 1917; Mesopotamia, Tekrit, 1917-18; Palestine advance of 19 Sept. 1918.
- ✠LUARD, Edward Bourryan. Lieut.-Col. Commanded King's Shropshire L.I. Dispatches three times. D.S.O. France with 1st Expeditionary Force (6th Division): Marne, Aisne, Armentières, Ypres Salient. Wounded 21 April 1915, while gallantly leading his Regt. to re-take trenches on the Ypres-Langemarck road. Died of wounds 24 April 1915.
- LUARD, John Scott. Rear-Adml., R.N. C.B. Légion d'Honneur. Captain in charge of Southern District Coast Guard, 1914-15; Commodore in 10th Cruiser Squadron (Northern Blockade), 1916-17; Rear-Adml. commanding Area XIV (Falmouth, Penzance, and Scilly Isles), 1917-19.
- LUARD, Lowes Dalbiac. Major. Dispatches five times. D.S.O., 1914 Star, Croix de Guerre avec Palme et citation à l'Armée. France 1914-19, with 8th, 33rd, and 15th Divisions, also D.A.D.S. and T.
- LUARD, Richard Chamberlin. Brevet Lieut.-Col. R. of O. Late Oxford and Bucks L.I. Embarkation Staff Officer at Newhaven.

- LUARD, Sandford William. Capt., London Regt. (Post Office Rifles). Dispatches.
- McCLINTOCK, Rev. Edward. Chaplain to the Forces at the Front (*La Touche*).
- McCLINTOCK, Stanley. Major, Gordon Highlanders. D.S.O. and bar. Served with his Regt. through the War (*La Touche*).
- ✠McCORMICK, James Gardiner. Lieut., Worcester Regt. Killed in action while leading his men, 20 May 1916 (*Gosset*).
- ✠McCORMICK, John Hugh Gardiner. Capt., R. Warwick Regt. 1914 Star. Died in a German hospital from wounds received on the Menin Road, 19 Oct. 1914 (*Gosset*).
- ✠MAGNIAC, Erskine. Lieut.-Col., 27th Punjabis. Dispatches. India 1914-15. Commanded Regt. in Mesopotamia. Fall of Bagdad. Killed by Arabs near outpost Mufiraz on R. Euphrates, 28 April 1917, aged 34 (*de Magnac*).
- ✠MAGNIAC, Meredith. Lieut.-Col., Lancashire Fus. Dispatches twice. D.S.O. Gallipoli 1915, in both evacuations; France 1916-17, in command of his Regt. Killed in action at Monchy-le-Preux, battle of Arras, 25 April 1917, aged 36 (*de Magnac*).
- MAJENDIE, Vivian Henry Bruce. Lieut.-Col., Somerset L.I. Dispatches four times. D.S.O. and Brevet Majority. France 1915-18.
- MANGIN, Etienne Bessonnet. Capt., 107th Pioneers, Indian Army. Dispatches. M.C. France 1914-15; Mesopotamia 1915-19.
- MARRIAGE, Leslie Hanson. Acting Lieut.-Col., commanding 74th Battalion M.G.C. Belgium 1914: Ypres; Palestine 1917-18; France and Belgium 1918; N. Russia 1919; N. Russia Relief Force.
- ✠MARTEN, Charles Peter. Major, W. Yorks. Regt. and R. Fus., temp. Lieut.-Col., K.R.R.C. Dispatches. France 1916. Killed in action at Longueval, 15 Sept. 1916 (*Pouchin*).
- MARTINEAU, Hubert Melville. Lieut., R. Berks. Regt., and Welch Guards. Invalided out of Army in 1915.
- MARTINEAU, Philip Brian. Sub-Lieut., R.N. 1914 Star. East Atlantic Patrol, Dardanelles, Salonika, North Sea.
- MASON, Eric Strickland. Lieut., London Regt. France (*Cormouls*).
- MEAD, Anthony George. Lieut., R.E. Inland Water and Docks. In charge of a steam ferry between Richborough and Calais (*Lefroy*).
- MEAD, Philip Clement. R.N.V.R. Anti-aircraft (*Lefroy*).
- MONEY, Ernle Francis Drummond. Lieut.-Col., Gurkha Rifles. D.S.O. E. Africa 1914-17 (*Boisragon*).
- ✠MONEY, Henry Ionside. Capt., Gurkha Rifles. Dispatches. Killed in action in France (Festubert), 20 Dec. 1914 (*Boisragon*).
- MONK, Francis Fitzhugh. Lieut., I.A.R.O. Temp. Capt., Intelligence Corps, Gen. Staff Intelligence G.H.Q., Egyptian Exped. Force (*Lefroy*).
- ✠MOORE, Arthur Robert. Capt., R. Fus. (T.F.). Dispatches. M.C. France 1915-16: Neuve Chapelle, Hébuterne, Gonnecourt. Twice wounded in the Battle of the Somme, and died the same day, 1 July 1916 (*Lemon*).
- MURRAY, Arthur John Layard. Lieut. and Lieut.-Commander, R.N. Dispatches twice. D.S.O. O.B.E. H.M.S. *Agamemnon* with Channel Fleet and at Dardanelles, 1914. Mining School, Portsmouth, 1916. In N. Russia, Evacuation of Archangel, etc.; Mining of Dwina River, 1919. Wounded (*Du Quesne, Layard*).
- MURRAY, Michael Richard Haltam. Sub-Lieut. and Lieut., R.N. On H.M.S. *Indefatigable* and *Monarch*, 1914-19: Mediterranean and North Sea (Jutland) (*Du Quesne, Layard*).

NOEL-HILL, Charles Michael Wentworth. Acting Capt., Rifle Brigade. Wounded at the Somme, 1916. Brigade Bombing Officer H.Q., Isle of Sheppey 18 months (*Riou*).

OLIVIER, Arthur Eden. Lieut., R.F.A. France 1918.

OLIVIER, Henry Dacres. Lieut.-Col., late R.E. A.F.E., South London Defences, 1916; Assistant Inspector of Steel under the C.I.N.O. Admiralty 1917-19.

✠OLIVIER, Jasper George. 2nd Lieut., D.C.L.I. Battle of the Somme. Killed in action in attack on Les Bœufs, 16 Sept. 1916.

✠OLIVIER, Robert Harold. Capt., D.C.L.I. 1914 Star. France 1914: Mons, Aisne, etc. Killed in action at Missy on the Aisne, 14 Sept. 1914.

OUVRY, Ernest Carrington. Lieut.-Col., commanding 1st Cadet Battalion H.A.C.

PALAIRET, Richard Cameron North. Staff Capt., 45th Inf. Brigade, Waziristan Field Force, 1917. Deputy Assist. Director of Equipment and Ordnance Stores at A.H.Q. Simla (acting Major) 1918.

PARNELL, Constance. V.A.D. Nurse at Percy House Mil. Hosp. 3 years. St. John's Ambulance War Medallion (*Chabot*).

PARNELL, Gerald Langston. Commr., R.N. (afterwards Captain). D.S.O. O.B.E. Croix de Guerre. Chevalier Légion d'Honneur. At sea 1914-18; British Res. Naval Officer, Baku, on the Caspian Sea 1919 (*Chabot*).

✠PARNELL, Mervyn Edmund. Capt. and Adj., 36th Jacob's Horse, Indian Army. France 1914-17. Killed in action at Cambrai, 1 Dec. 1917, buried at Hendicourt (*Chabot*).

PASCALL, Albert George. L/Corpl., A.S.C. Cadet R.A.F. 1914 Star. France 1914-18.

PASCALL, Alfred John. Pte., R.A.S.C. Accountant Section, B.E.F. Canteens.

✠PASCALL, Arthur Edwin. Pte., Australian Imperial Forces. 1915 Star. Gallipoli 1915. Killed in action at Suvla Bay Landing, Aug. 1915.

PASCALL, Arthur Henry. L/Corpl., Leicestershire Regt. France.

PASCALL, George William. Corpl., R.A.O.C. Egypt 1917-19.

PASCALL, Henry James. Gunner, R.F.A. France and Belgium 1916-19.

PASCALL, Lawrence Harold. Lieut., R.M.A. (Portsmouth). Coast Defence, Cromarty, Scotland.

PASCALL, Robert Reginald. Corpl., Q. Victoria Rifles. Home Service.

PASCALL, Sidney Woodroffe. Major (Vol.), London Defences.

PASCALL, Thomas Frederick. Pte., Essex Regt. Egypt and Palestine 1916-19.

✠PASCALL, Thomas Osborne. Pte. Killed in action near Cambrin, France, 2 Jan. 1916.

PASCALL, Wilfrid Gover. Capt., R.A.S.C. Dispatches. France 1916-18.

NOTE.—Six of the 'Pascalls' whose names are here mentioned were brothers, i.e. the 2nd, 3rd, 5th, 6th, 8th, and 10th on the list.

PATCH, Edith Ruth. Sister, Hôpital Militaire, Lisieux, France, and No. 1 British Red Cross Hospital, France, 1914-19 (*Majendie*).

✠PATCH, Henry. Capt., S. Lancashire Regt., attd. R.F.C. France 1914-17. Died of wounds received on previous day near Roulers, Flanders, 18 Oct. 1917 (*Majendie*).

PATCH, Lucy Sophia. V.A.D., Red Cross Hospital, St. Leonards-on-Sea, 1914-19 (*Majendie*).

- ✱ **PATCH**, Noël James Stanway. Signaller, 47th Battalion, 12th Inf. Brigade Australian Imperial Force. France and Flanders 1916-17. Killed in action, Zonnebeke, 13 Oct. 1917 (*Majendie*).
- PATCH**, Thomas Walter. Driver, 5th Australian Division, A.E.F., 1914-19 (*Majendie*).
- ✱ **PAYNE-GALLWEY**, Philip Francis. Lieut., 21st Lancers, attd. 9th Lancers. Whilst his Regt. covered the retreat fighting a rear-guard action, he was killed at the first battle of Ypres, 31 Oct. 1914 (*La Touche*).
- PECHELL**, Sir Augustus Alexander BROOKE-, Bart. Lieut.-Col., R.A.M.C. (retired). Employed by W.O., 1914-19 (*de Péchels*).
- PECHELL**, Horace James. Capt., R.A.M.C. (T.). Mention W.O. List 1917 (*de Péchels*).
- PECHELL**, Mortimer George. Sergeant, H.A.C. Infantry. Dispatches. France 1914-16 (*de Péchels*).
- ✱ **PERRIN**, Maurice Nasmith. Major, R.A.F. (Medical Service). France and Flanders 1914-19. Killed in flying accident whilst on duty at Castle Bromwich, 28 April 1919.
- PHILLOTT**, Douglas Craven. Lieut.-Col., Oriental Censor under India Office; Member of Sub-Committee for Enlistment complaints; Chief Censor, Cairo and Port Said (*Filot or Philot*).
- ✱ **PHILLOTT**, George Rodney. Lieut., R.N. General submarine work including work against aeroplanes and Zeppelins. Killed in action North Sea, 25 Dec. 1915. All hands perished (*Filot or Philot*).
- PITCHER**, Duncan Le Geyt. Air Commodore, R.A.F. Dispatches. C.M.G. C.B.E. D.S.O. 1914 Star. Officier Légion d'Honneur, Order of SS. Maurizio e Lazzaro. Promoted Brevet Major and Lieut.-Col. France and Belgium 1914-18, and in the Army of Occupation (*Michelet*).
- ✱ **PLANT**, Holford Charles Fourdrinier. 2nd Lieut., N. Staffordshire Regt. France: Somme. Killed in action, 3 May 1917 (*Fourdrinier*).
- PLANT**, John Christopher George. Lieut., Norfolk Regt. Mesopotamia 1917; Baghdad; India (*Fourdrinier*).
- PLANT**, Samuel Arthur Noel. Cadet in training at time of Armistice (*Fourdrinier*).
- PORTAL**, Bertram Percy. Brig.-Gen. (Cavalry). C.B. Commanding 7th Cav. Brigade, 1916-18.
- PORTAL**, Charles Frederick Algernon. Major (acting Lieut.-Col.), R.A.F. Dispatches three times. D.S.O. and bar. M.C. France: in R.E. 1914-16; in R.F.C. 1916-18.
- NOTE.—This officer and the four whose names follow his, are all sons of E. R. Portal, Esq., of Eddington House, Hungerford.
- PORTAL**, Gervas Edward. Capt., 5th Indian Cavalry. Gallipoli; Egypt and Palestine, in Berks Yeomanry; Mesopotamia in 5th Cavalry, 1917-18.
- PORTAL**, Hubert Victor Evelyn. 2nd Lieut., R.F.A. Invalided out of the Army, Nov. 1915.
- PORTAL**, John Leslie. Major, Oxford and Bucks L.I. Seconded for Service with King's African Rifles. Dispatches three times. D.S.O. Campaign in German East Africa with Gen. Northey.
- PORTAL**, Reginald Henry. Lieut., R.N. D.S.C. Served 1914-18 in the North Sea and Mediterranean.
- PRESCOTT**, William Ralph. Capt., Worcestershire Regt. (T.F.). Dispatches. M.C. with two bars. Twice wounded. France 1915-17: Somme, Péronne. Italy 1917-19: Asiago Plateau (*Riou*).

- RAMBAUT, Arthur Edmund. Lieut., Northumberland Fus. (T.F.), and Intelligence Corps. France.
- RAMBAUT, Bertrand Romney Robinson. Major, R. of O., late R.A. Ministry of Munitions. Egypt: Commanding Coast Defences of Alexandria, etc.
- RAMBAUT, Gerrard Marlande. Major, R.F.A. (T.F.). Dispatches. D.S.O. France 1915-17. Wounded three times.
- RAMBAUT, Hugh Calder. Lieut., Bedford Yeomanry (T.F.). France.
- ✠RANSOME, Rev. Walter George Alford. Universities' Mission Central Africa. In German East Africa 1914. Imprisoned by Germans; released 1917 by the Belgians at Tabora. Died in Hospital at Zanzibar, Oct. 1917, within a month of his release. Death brought about by sufferings he underwent in captivity (*de Rançon*).
- REDMOND, Arthur William. Trooper, S. Irish Horse. Promoted 2nd Lieut., R. Irish Rifles. 1914 Star. France 1915-16: Loos, La Bassée (*La Grue*).
- REDMOND, Charlotte Rebecca. V.A.D., transferred to W.A.A.C. and promoted to Non.-Com. rank 1918 (*La Grue*).
- REDMOND, Ethel. V.A.D. (*La Grue*).
- REDMOND, James Frederick. Pte., The Black Watch. Invalided out of Army (*La Grue*).
- REDMOND, Kathleen. V.A.D. 2 service bars (*La Grue*).
- ✠REID, Duncan Flower Cunningham. R.F.C., late 29th Lancers (Deccan Horse). Killed while flying in France, 19 Dec. 1915 (*Boileau de Castelnau*).
- ✠REID, Edward Harington. Capt., Suffolk Regt. Killed in action at Le Cateau, 26 Aug. 1914 (*Boileau de Castelnau*).
- ✠REID, James Lestock Ironside. Capt., 2nd Goorkhas. Killed in action, 2 Nov. 1914 (*Boileau de Castelnau*).
- ✠REID, Lestock Henry. Lieut., 2nd New Zealand Regt. Killed in action, June 1916 (*Boileau de Castelnau*).
- ✠REID, Percy Cargill. 2nd Lieut., London Regt. Killed in action, 6 May 1917 (*Boileau de Castelnau*).
- ✠RIBTON, Reginald Heber. Eng. Lieut., R.N. Died at sea in H.M.S. *Almanzora*, 14 Feb. 1916 (*L'Amie*).
- ✠RICHARDSON, Arthur Douglas. 2nd Lieut., W. Yorks. Regt. Died of enteric while training, 12 Jan. 1915 (*de Dibon*).
- NOTE.—This officer and five of his brothers, whose names follow, were all sons of the late Sir Thomas and Lady Richardson.
- ✠RICHARDSON, Ernest Benbow. 2nd Lieut., R.E. Promoted from ranks for distinguished work finding water and sinking wells. Died at Suvla Bay, 28 Oct. 1915 (*de Dibon*).
- ✠RICHARDSON, John Stanley. Capt., R.E., 3rd Lahore Division. Dispatches. France 1914. Reported wounded and missing, now believed killed in action, Neuve Chapelle, 28 Oct. 1914 (*de Dibon*).
- ✠RICHARDSON, Raymond de Dibon. Lieut., R.N. D.S.C. Gallipoli landing at X Beach, H.M.S. *Implacable*; Battle of Jutland, H.M.S. *Royal Oak*; later in T.B.D. *Ouse*, *Nerissa*, and *Vesper* in North Sea. Died at Cambridge, 21 March 1919 (*de Dibon*).
- RICHARDSON, Roland Charles. Capt., W. Yorks. Regt. M.C. France: Ancre, Ypres, Passchendaele, Somme; severely wounded 1918 (*de Dibon*).
- RICHARDSON, Thomas. Capt., Gen. Service List. O.B.E. Recruiting Officer. Appeal Mil. Rep. Legal Adviser to Min. of Nat. Service, Northern Region (*de Dibon*).

- ✠RIEU, Alfred. Pte., French Foreign Legion and Public Schools Battalion, Middlesex Regt. Picardy 1914-15. Somme Campaign 1915-16. Killed in action, Beaumont-Hamel, 1 July 1915.
- ✠RIEU, Charles. L/Sergt. in Mil. Intell. Police. Picardy (in French Foreign Legion) 1914-15; Somme Campaign (in Public Schools Battalion, Middlesex Regt.) 1915-16. Flanders 1916-17. Accidentally killed at Hazebrouck, 13 Sept. 1917.
- ✠RIEU, Henry. Pte., Public Schools Battalion, Middlesex Regt. France 1915-16. Killed in action at Cambrin, 30 Jan. 1916.
- RITCHIE, Basil Hastings Martyn. Capt., Off. commanding Remounts to Imperial Light Horse, Pretoria. S.W. African Campaign 1914-15; on staff of Union Defence Force, S. Africa, 1916-19 (*Le Bailly*).
- RITCHIE, Evelyn Frederick Theophilus. Trooper, Imperial Light Horse (S.A.). Dutch Rebellion 1914. German S.W. Africa 1914-15. France: Capt. on Staff 1915-18. Capt. on the Rhine 1919. 1915 Star (*Le Bailly*).
- RITCHIE, Francis Kenneth St. Martin. Lieut., S. African Inf. 1915 Khedive Star. Dutch Rebellion 1914. German S.W. Africa, Egypt 1916: Umgeel Agagir-Sollum. France 1916: Somme, Longueval. Prisoner of War 1914-18 (*Le Bailly*).
- RITCHIE, George le Harivel Ker. Capt., 1st King's African Rifles. Second in command of No. 3 Column, 1914-15. At relief of Karonga, Nyassaland [Brit. Resident and Magistrate, Nyassaland, B. Central Africa] (*Le Bailly*).
- RITCHIE, Reginald Percy Thomas. Major, R. Irish Fus., att'd., L.N. Lancashire Regt., Salisbury Plain, 1914. Lancashire Fus. for training officers and men at Bury, 1914-18 (*Le Bailly*).
- ✠ROBERTS, Frederick John. Major, Queen's R.W. Surrey Regt. 1915 Star. France 1914-15. Killed in action at Loos, 17 Oct. 1915 (*Sautelle*).
- ✠V.C. ROBERTS, Frederick Sleigh. Field Marshal. Earl. K.G. etc. Died at St. Omer, France, while inspecting the troops from India, 14 Nov. 1914 (*Sautelle*).
- ✠ROBERTS, Gerard Chipchase. Lieut.-Col., Gloucester Regt. Killed in action, south of Neuve Chapelle, France, 8 June 1916 (*Sautelle*).
- ✠ROBERTS, John. Corpl., Canadian Army. France. Killed in action 1916 (*Sautelle*).
- ROGET, Samuel Romilly. Lieut., R.N.V.R. Anti-Aircraft Defence (London Area) (*Romilly*).
- ✠RUSSELL, Alexander Christopher. Capt., Sherwood Foresters. Musketry Off., Sandgate and Borden. Killed in action in France, 10 Oct. 1915 (*Lefroy*).
- RUSSELL, Claude. Capt., R.G.A. Training men in India (*Lefroy*).
- RUSSELL, Harry Lefroy. Lieut., Sherwood Foresters. Six months on the Somme front (*Lefroy*).
- ✠SAPTE, Anthony. Capt., Middlesex Regt. 1914 Star. France and Belgium 1914-16. Killed in action at Fricourt, battle of the Somme, 1 July 1916.
- SAPTE, Brand. L/Corpl., 44th Battalion Canadian Army. France and Belgium 1916 and 1917. Wounded. Taken prisoner.
- SAPTE, Douglas. Col. 1914 Star. France and Belgium 1915. On Staff (A.A.G. and A.Q.M.G.) in Gallipoli 1915; in Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece 1915-16. Commandant Northern Command Depot 1916-18. With H.Q. Eastern Command 1918.
- SAPTE, Francis. Major (retired pay), late Middlesex Regt. [D.S.O.] Censor 1914-17.

SAPTE, Francis Fitzroy. Temp. 2nd Lieut., R.A. Joined R.G.A. 1918. Constantinople Army of Occupation 1919.

✠SAPTE, William Travis. Capt., R. Canadian Regt. France and Belgium 1915-16. Killed in action 8 Oct. 1916.

SATTERLEY, Olive Swaine. V.A.D. Nursing member, then qualified Dispenser in V.A.D. Hosp. (100 beds), 1914-19 (*Lapage*).

SAURIN, Gerald Louis. Commander R.N. Dispatches. Officier Ordre de Léopold (Belgium). Promoted to Capt. for services. Belgian Coast and Flanders 1915-16. Flag Commander to C.-in-C., The Nore, 1917-18.

SAURIN, William Mark. Major, Yorks. Regt. France 1914. R.T.O. Staff Capt., 1916-19.

SHOPPEE, Lionel Conrad. Capt., R.A.F. D.S.C. Belgian Coast, Dardanelles, Salonika, North Sea, and Channel Patrols (*Chappuis*).

✠SPENCER, Richard Isaac Barré. 2nd Lieut., R. Scots Fus. Flanders 1915-16: Ypres Salient. Killed in action at the head of his company in the advance on the Somme, 14 July 1916 (*Boileau*).

SPRING-RICE, Edward Dominick. Financial Adviser to the British Commission to Russia (*La Touche*).

✠STREATFEILD-JAMES, Ralph. Capt., E. Surrey Regt. D.S.O. France and Flanders 1915-16. Wounded three times: at Lindinhoek; on the Somme; and (mortally) at the capture of Morval. Died of wounds, 7 Oct. 1916 (*Desaguliers*).

TALBOT, Julia Elizabeth Mary. Lady of Grace Order of St. John of Jerusalem. President Co. Armagh St. John Ambulance Association (*La Touche*).

TALBOT, William John. R.A.C. Driver at H.Q., Norwich, Canterbury, and Sevenoaks, 1915-17; Driver, British Red Cross, 1915. Chairman War Pensions Com. and President S. and S. Help Society, co. Roscommon (*La Touche*).

✠TAYLOR, Ernest Charles. Corpl., K.R.R.C. France. Killed in action, August 1917 (*Pascal*).

TAYLOR, Frank Noel. Wireless Operator, R.A.F. Belgian 'Médaille Militaire.' France and Belgium (*Pascal*).

TAYLOR, Maude Violet. Worked in Hospital Dépôt, Portsmouth, and Anglo-S. American Dépôt, London (*La Touche*).

THOMASON, Archibald David Fawcett. 2nd Lieut., 12th (Indian) Cav. and 13th Lancers. Mesopotamia 1917-19: taking of Baghdad. Commandant of Signal Company of 3rd Cav. Brig. (*Boisragon*).

THOMASON, Archibald Fawcett. Lieut.-Col. 1914 Star. France 1914-15. India 1917-19. Raised and commanded 3rd Lahore Divisional Train; served on Western Front and at Marseilles; then in India with Peshawar and Meerut Divisions (*Boisragon*).

THOMASON, James Maxwell Fawcett. 2nd Lieut., Durham L.I. 1914 Star. France 1915-16: Ypres. Shell-shock, invalided out of the Service 1916 (*Boisragon*).

✠TURNER-JONES, Alexander Cecil. Pte., 9th Infantry, Australian E.F. Died of illness contracted on Active Service 12 March 1915; buried at Lemnos (*La Touche*).

TURNER-JONES, Cedric La Touche. Capt. (acting Major) R.E. Brigade Major, General Staff. Dispatches. D.S.O. M.C. and bar. German S.W. Africa 1914-15. France 1916-18. Italy 1918 (*La Touche*).

TURQUAND, Frederick James. Inspector in Aeronautical Inspection Department.

- TURQUAND, Gertrude Annie. Lady Superintendent, Royal Dockyard, Woolwich, 1916. M.B.E. Organizer of Crèche, Canteen, etc., of Women's Division.
- ✠TUZO, John Atkinson. Capt., R. Sussex Regt. Seconded for service as Engineer in German E. Africa. Died of illness contracted on Service at Dar-es-Salaam (*Tuzeau*).
- ✠TYSER, Henry Erskine. 2nd Lieut., The Black Watch. Killed in action, 9 April 1917 (*Boileau de Castelnau*).
- VIGNOLES, Edwin Herbert. 2nd Lieut., R.E. France 1918-19 (*De Vignoles*).
- VIGNOLES, Walter Adolph. Lieut.-Col., Northumberland Fus. Previously Major, Lincolnshire Regt. Dispatches twice. D.S.O. and bar. Wounded. France 1915-18: Somme, Arras, Battle of the Lys.
- VIGNOLES, Wilfred Hutton. Pte., R.A.S.C., M.T.O. France 1915-19 (*De Vignoles*).
- ✠WAGNER, Caspar Henry Granville. Sub-Lieut. in R.N. Division. Killed at Beaumont-Hamel, 13 Nov. 1916 (*Teulon*).
- WARD, Ronald Ogier. Capt., acting Major, H.A.C. Dispatches. D.S.O. M.C. Egypt 1915: Suez Canal; Aden. France and Flanders 1917-18: Battle of Arras, taking of Passchendaele, Bapaume (*Ogier*).
- WARD, William Henry. Lieut., W. Yorkshire Regt. Staff Lieut., R.T.E. Flanders 1915. France 1916-17, Military Censor. Italy, 1917-18, R.T.E. (*Rebotier, Rieu*).
- ✠WARDELL, Warren Henry. Major, Indian Army. France 1914. Presumed killed at Festubert, 24 Nov. 1914 (*Le Bailly*).
- WATSON, Eric Branston. Pte., The Royal Scots. France 1918. German Offensive: Bailleul, Erquinghem, and Armentières Front (*Chabot*).
- ✠WATSON, John Mowbray Walter. Lieut., M.G.C., late North Staffordshire Regt. Divisional Green Card awarded by Count Gleichen for dist. conduct. Wounded. France 1916-17: Somme, Fricourt Wood, Vimy Ridge, Delville Wood. Killed in action at Inverness Wood on 22 Aug. 1917, aged 24 (*Chabot*).
- ✠WELCH, Edward Victor. Sergt., Hampshire Regt. Mesopotamia 1915, with Indian E.F. Prisoner of war; died 22 Dec. 1915 (*Jourdain*).
- ✠WHATELEY, Stephen William. Capt., R. Munster Fus. 1915 Star. Gallipoli, Suvla Bay, Salonika, Palestine, France. Died of wounds at Roisel, Somme Valley, 25 Oct. 1918 (*Sautelle*).
- WILKIN, Arthur. Capt., R.A.M.C. Dispatches twice. Salonika E.F. (*Lefroy*).
- ✠WILLIAMS, David Marmaduke. Lieut., S. Staffordshire Regt. Dispatches. France 1916. Killed in action at Loos 25 Sept. 1916 (*Lefroy*).
- WILLIAMS, Geoffry Anthony. Sub-Lieut., H.M.S. *Orion*, later in H.M.S. *Barham* (Flagship of 5th Battle Squadron). Battle of Jutland, May 1916 (*Lefroy*).
- WILLIAMS, Preston Cory. Major, R.F.A. M.C. and bar. In the Somme, Lys, and Marne (*Lefroy*).
- ✠WILLOCK, Guy Charles Boileau. Lieut., Scottish Rifles. Killed in action in France, 25 Sept. 1915 (*Boileau de Castelnau*).
- ✠WILLOCK, Neville Gore. Killed in action in France, Nov. 1917 (*Boileau de Castelnau*).
- ✠WILSON, Dennis Erskine. Major, R. Dublin Fus. Died of wounds at Salonika, 23 Sept. 1916 (*Boileau de Castelnau*).
- WILSON, Edith Winifred. V.A.D. Cook at various canteens and hospitals (*Lapage*).

- ✠WILSON, Ralph Edwin. Lieut., R. Scots. Wounded twice ; died of wounds at Etaples, 28 Sept. 1915 (*de Layarde*).
- ✠V.C. YATÉ, Charles Allix Lavington. Major, K.O. Yorkshire L.I. 1914 Star. The Retreat from Mons and Battle of Le Cateau. Prisoner of war. Killed while attempting to escape from Torgau, 21 July 1915 (*Allix*).
- YOUNGHUSBAND, George Edward. Capt., 11th Hussars. Dispatches. 1915 Star. France 1915-19 (*Boileau*).

In the above Record, where the name of the Huguenot family from which descent is claimed is not that borne by the descendant or has become considerably modified, it is added in italics at the end of each entry. The following is an index of the Huguenot families represented in the Record, showing the names of the present descendants. Generally only the principal Huguenot family has been here given, but it should be remembered that, owing to frequent intermarriages between the refugees in the early days of their settlement in this kingdom, most of their descendants now represent a number of such families. As to this, reference may be had to the Society's current and past Lists of Fellows.

ALLIX	Yate
ANNEREAU	Annereau
ARNAUD	Grey
AUBERTIN	Aubertin
AUDRY	Buss
AUMONIER	Aumonier
AVELINE	Aveline
BALLANCE	Ballance
BENTÔT	Hone
BOILEAU	Spencer ; Younghusband
BOILEAU DE CASTELNAU	Adams ; Allsopp ; Barton ; Boileau ; Elliott ; Reid ; Tyser ; Willock ; Wilson
BOISRAGON	Drummond ; Money ; Thomason. <i>See also</i> CHEVALLEAU ; DE BOIS- RAGON
BOSANQUET	Bosanquet
CARDINAL	Barnabas
CAZALET	Cazalet
CAZENOVE	Cazenove

CHABOT	Bramston ; Chabot ; Low ; Parnell ; Watson
CHAIGNEAU	Colvill
CHAMIER	Chamier
CHAMPION DE CRESPIGNY	Champion de Crespigny
CHAPPUIS	Shoppee
CHENEVIX	Austen-Leigh
CHEVALLEAU DE BOISRAGON DE LA TIFFARDIÈRE	Beckett. <i>See also</i> BOISRAGON ; DE BOISRAGON
CHOISY	Choisy
CORMOULS	Mason
COURTAULD	Courtauld
DALBIAC	Dalbiac
D'ALBIAC	D'Albiac
D'ALTERA	Chaloner
DE BOISRAGON DE LA TIFFARDIÈRE	Beckett ; Boisragon. <i>See also</i> BOIS- RAGON ; CHEVALLEAU
DE CASTELNAU	<i>See</i> BOILEAU
DE CAUX	de Caux
DE CORMAINVILLE, SEIGNEUR	<i>See</i> DE GUILLAUME
DE CRESPIGNY	<i>See</i> CHAMPION DE CRESPIGNY
DE DIBON	Faber ; Richardson
DE GUILLAUME, SEIGNEUR DE CORMAINVILLE	Guillaume
DE HAVÊT	Dixon
DE LA FONTAINE	Denman
DE LA MARE	de la Mare
DE LA TIFFARDIÈRE	<i>See</i> CHEVALLEAU ; DE BOISRAGON
DE LAYARDE	Wilson. <i>See also</i> LAYARD ; RAY- MOND DE LAYARDE
DE MAGNAC	Magniac
DE PÉCHELS	Pechell
DE RANÇON	Ransome
DESAGULIERS	James ; Streatfeild-James
DES VŒUX	Des Vœux
DE TISSAC	Fleetwood-Hesketh
DE VIGNOLES	Vignoles
DOBRÉE	Dobrée
DROUET	Drought
DU BOULAY	<i>See</i> HOUSSEMARYNE DU BOULAY

DUCHESNE	Duchesne
DU PRIÉ	Colyer-Fergusson
DUPUY	Dupuy
DU QUESNE	Du Cane ; Murray
FÂCHE	Fâche
FILOT	Phillott
FOUCAR	Foucar
FOURDRINIER	Bourne ; Crick ; Fenn ; Folker ; Fourdrinier ; Grimké-Drayton ; Harvey ; Hughes ; Plant
GARNAULT	Collins
GARNIER	Carpenter-Garnier
GERVAIS	Gervis
GIBAUT	Gibaut
GODDE	Cust
GODIN	Godin
GOSSET	Leigh ; McCormick
GOYER	Gilligan
GRELLIER	Grellier
GRUGEON	Baines ; Grugeon ; Hovenden
GUILLEMARD	Guillemard
HARENC	Harenc
HAVET	Haves
HOUSSEMAYNE DU BOULAY	Houssemayne Du Boulay
JEDUIN	Jeudwine
JOURDAIN	Elyard ; Jourdain ; Welch
LADELL	Ladell
LA GRUE	La Grue ; Redmond
L'AMIE	L'Amie ; Ribton
LANDON	Landon
LAPAGE	Lapage ; Satterley ; Wilson
LAPONE	Lapone
LART	Lart
LA TOUCHE	Banister ; Bayly ; Bell ; Bisset ; Black ; Campbell ; Colthurst ; Congreve ; Darley ; Fitzgerald ; Flower ; Godley ; Hotham ; La Touche ; Lowry-Cole ; McClintock ; Payne-Gallwey ; Spring-Rice ; Talbot ; Taylor ; Turner-Jones
LAYARD	Murray. <i>See also</i> DE LAYARDE ; RAYMOND DE LAYARDE

LE BAILLY	Le Bailly ; Ritchie ; Wardell
LE CRONIER	Browning
LE FANU	Dobbin ; Le Fanu
LE FEAUX	Le Feaux
LEFROY	Causton ; Chenevix-Trench ; Crofton ; Crossland ; Hawes ; Henniker- Gotley ; King ; Lefroy ; Mead ; Monk ; Russell ; Wilkin ; Williams
LE MARCHAND	Le Marchand
LEMON	Moore
LESCHALLAS	Leschallas
LE VAVASSEUR	Barnes
LUARD	Luard
MAJENDIE	Jones ; Majendie ; Patch
MALORTIE	Holman
MANGIN	Mangin
MARRIAGE	Marriage
MARTINEAU	Martineau
MATHEY	Baker
MICHELET	Adam ; Ford ; Gordon ; Hobart- Hampden ; Kensington ; Pitcher
MINET	Bowden-Smith
OGIER	Ward
OLIVIER	Olivier
OUVRY	Ouvry
PALAIRET	Palairret
PASCAL	Barker ; Pascall ; Taylor
PERRIN	Perrin
PHILOT	Phillott
PORTAL	Portal
POUCHIN	Marten
RAMBAUT	Rambaut
RAYMOND DE LAYARDE	Layard. <i>See also</i> LAYARD ; DE LAYARDE
REBOTIER	Ward
RIEU	Rieu ; Ward
RIOU	Baxter ; Benson ; Berens ; Noel- Hill ; Prescott
RIVIÈRE	Bland
ROGET	Roget
ROMILLY	Roget
ROUSSEAU	Hinde

SAPTE	Sapte
SAURIN	Saurin
SAUTELLE	Roberts ; Whateley
SAUVAIRE	Hall
TEULON	Wagner
TURQUAND	Turquand
TUZEAU	Tuzo
TYSACK	Fleetwood-Hesketh

Miscellanea.

I. A RELIC OF THE MASSACRE.

THE following appeared in *The Architect* of January 13, 1922 :

Once again one is in the quarter of the Ile de la Cité, still rich in romance even in this prosaic age.

A house was pulled down to make way for a new street. It was one of the quaint old hotels of the aforetime nobility, with a comparatively modern front.

In it there was found a secret chamber. It was just the house to have one, with narrow back staircases, huge salons, attics in the high-pitched, red-tiled roof, and vast cellars, the latter, perhaps, once giving an outlet on the river itself. The secret hiding-place in this instance was constructed at the back of the fireplace of the main bed-chamber, and was connected with the salon on the other side by a narrow passage-way (about 20 inches wide) in the panelled walls. In the chamber itself was found, as the men engaged in stripping off the beautiful old wood panelling suddenly disclosed it, a white scarf, and a list of names written closely on three sheets of foolscap paper, most of them indistinct from fading of the ink. The yellowish-white scarf at first conveyed no particular meaning, and but for the handwriting and a date at the bottom of the last page, 'Juillet 5ieme. 1572,' would have borne no special significance. But like a flash there came to the mind of an antiquarian friend, a M. Raoul Castignac, the idea that the faded piece of silken ribbon or fabric which he held in his hand was intended to serve, or had served, as one of the 'badges of safety' donned by Huguenots who had been warned of the massacre of August 24 of the same year, and by those engaged in killing the unfortunate victims, estimated at from 10,000 to 20,000 in the streets and houses of Paris alone.

(Communicated by WILLIAM GRELLIER, Esq.)

II. THE LE BLOND COLOUR PRINTS.

The following is quoted from *The Times* of April 24, 1922 :

The recent death, in his seventy-eighth year, of Mr. Bernard A. Maynard Le Blond, at Teddington, removed the last link with the producers of the Le Blond prints. He was the younger son of Mr. Abraham Le Blond, and was himself an artist of no mean ability. The business was a prosperous lithographic printers, and although the subjects might sometimes be deemed commonplace, the process was brought to a high standard. Reproductions from Baxter's plates, and also designs of the Le Blonds' own, are much sought after on account of the excellent colour effects and precision of style of this past art. There are only one or two lists in existence printed by Abraham Le Blond of the prints. The Le Blond family was of Huguenot descent ; it was a Le Blon or Le Blond, painter, engraver, and printer in colours (1670-1741), who is generally regarded as the inventor of the modern system of chromo-lithography and similar processes of colour-printing.

III. LAYARD MSS. AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

These now form Additional MSS. 39050, and have recently been made available for students. They consist of Sir A. H. Layard's original manuscript contributions to the publications of this Society (1887-1893), together with drafts of, and notes for, unpublished papers. The printed description, occupying two and a half pages, will be included in the *Catalogue of Additions*, 1911-1915.

(Communicated by G. T. HALES, Esq.)

Proceedings
of the
Huguenot Society of London

VOL. XII., No. 5.

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1923

THE
HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.

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SIR ROBERT ALFRED McCALL, K.C.V.O., K.C.

Vice-Presidents.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF RADNOR.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON

VOL. XII. No. 5

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON

MEETINGS OF THE SESSION 1921-22.

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FIRST ORDINARY MEETING, *Wednesday, November 9, 1921*,
held at the Hotel Russell, W.C. WYATT WYATT-PAINE,
Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Annual Meeting held on May 12 were
read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :

Arthur Campling, Esq., Royal Hotel Mansions, Henley-on-
Thames.

Captain C. W. Le Grand, R.A., Junior Naval and Military
Club, 96 Piccadilly, W. 1.

Mr. W. H. Manchée read a paper entitled 'Huguenot
London : Charing Cross and St. Martin's Lane.'

SECOND ORDINARY MEETING, *Wednesday, January 11, 1922*,
held at the Hotel Russell, W.C. WYATT WYATT-PAINE,
Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on November 9, 1921, were
read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :

Joseph Billiat, Esq., Junior Carlton Club, S.W. 1.

James Newton Paterson, Esq., 27 Strathbroke Road,
Streatham, S.W. 16.

Mr. W. H. Ward, F.S.A., read a paper on 'The Family
of Rebotier.'

THIRD ORDINARY MEETING, *Wednesday, March 8, 1922*, held at the Hotel Russell, W.C. WYATT WYATT-PAINE, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on January 11 were read and confirmed.

A Paper entitled 'The Revocation' was read by Mr. William Minet, F.S.A.

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING, *Wednesday, March 8, 1922*, held at the Hotel Russell, W.C. WYATT WYATT-PAINE, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

THE following alteration to the By-Laws proposed by the Council was agreed to: In By-Law VII, after the words 'such number of Vice-Presidents as the Society may from time to time elect,' to add the words 'not exceeding a number to be nominated from time to time by the Council.'

THIRTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, *Wednesday, May 10, 1922*, held at the Hotel Russell, W.C. WYATT WYATT-PAINE, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meetings held on March 8 were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society:

Miss Geraldine Zarita Lee Le Bas, B.Sc., F.C.S., 17 Dover Street, W. 1.

Cecil Grellier, Esq., St. Martin's Croft, Epsom.

The Annual Report of the Council was read as follows:

Report of Council to the Thirty-eighth Annual General Meeting of the Huguenot Society of London.

The Council has to report that during the past session the Society's losses have been twelve Fellows by death and sixteen by resignation, making a total of twenty-eight. Against this unusually heavy number it can only record the gain of six new Fellows by election, thereby reducing the net loss to twenty-two.

The Council regrets that the appeal it made in its last Report to the Fellows to enlist the interests of their friends of Huguenot descent or sympathies in the Society's work has produced so little result. It is aware of the exceptional conditions of the present time that make such recruiting work particularly difficult, but does not think that the Society's present members at all adequately represent the number of those who would be both willing and able to subscribe to its funds and thereby help to expedite the important work which still remains for it to do.

The losses by death include some who have been amongst the most active of the Society's workers. Foremost amongst them must be mentioned Mr. Reginald St. Aubyn Roumieu, an original Fellow and the Society's first Treasurer, an office which he held from 1885 to 1911, when he vacated it upon his election as President. Upon the expiry of his three years' term of the latter office he was elected a Vice-President, and remained so until his death. Mr. Roumieu took always the keenest interest in Huguenot matters, and his loss will be greatly felt in the Society.

Other names which have been conspicuous in the history of the Society and have now been removed by death from its lists include those of Mr. Charles Frédéric Rousselet, a former Member of Council and for many years one of our Honorary Auditors; Mr. Harley Mair Grellier, also of recent years an Honorary Auditor; Sir James Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I., one of our Vice-Presidents; and Mrs. Arthur Giraud Browning, the widow of our founder and Past-President.

The Treasurer's Accounts, which are appended to this Report, show a balance on the Income and Expenditure Account at December 31 last of £192 16s. 7d., and total invested funds worth at the same date at middle prices £1939 0s. 4d.

During the year Vol. XXV of the Society's Publications, being the *Register of Le Carré and Berwick Street Church, London*, was issued under the able editorship of Mr. William and Miss Susan Minet. No. 3 of Vol. XII of the *Proceedings* has also been issued to all fellows of the Society not in arrear with their subscriptions.

The important *Registers of the Savoy and Les Grecs French*

Churches, which have been also edited by Mr. and Miss Minet, are now nearly completed at press and should be in the hands of Fellows before many weeks. Work has also been begun on the transcription of other registers of the London French churches, and arrangements will be made to put the printing of them in hand as soon as the Society's circumstances will allow. The Council regrets continued delay in the issue of *The Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization of Aliens in England and Ireland from 1701 to 1800*, but the time of the editor has been too much taken up with other work to enable him to make any considerable progress with this volume during the past year. No. 4 of Vol. XII of the *Proceedings* is now in the printer's hands and will be issued during the present year. It will contain amongst other contributions the summarized returns of the Huguenot War Record.

The Council has again to express the Society's grateful thanks to Mr. A. Hervé Browning for his devoted services as Treasurer during the past year, and also to Mr. William Minet and Mr. William Grellier, who have acted as the Honorary Auditors. Absence in India during practically the whole of the year has again prevented Colonel D. G. Pitcher from carrying on his duties as Honorary Secretary, but the Council learns with pleasure that he is now back in England and ready to resume his work for the Society.

A Ballot was taken for the Officers and Council for the ensuing session, with the following result :—

Officers and Council for the year May 1922 to May 1923.

President.—Wyatt Wyatt-Paine, F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents.—The Right Hon. The Earl of Radnor ; George Beaumont Beeman ; William Minet, F.S.A. ; Sir William Wyndham Portal, Bart., F.S.A. ; Charles Poyntz Stewart, F.S.A.Scot.

Treasurer.—Arthur Hervé Browning.

Honorary Secretary.—Colonel Duncan George Pitcher.

Members of Council.—The Rev. William George Cazalet ; Thomas Colyer Colyer-Fergusson ; Sir Everard B. ffolkes, Bart. ; Francis de Havilland Hall, M.D., F.R.C.P. ; Edward

<i>Expenditure.</i>			<i>Income.</i>		
	Dr.			Cr.	
1921.	£	s. d.	1921.	£	s. d.
To Publications	194	6 4	By Subscriptions	334	4 6
Less balance of Publications Account	120	12 0	„ Entrance Fees	3	0 0
			„ Sale of Publications	10	10 10
			„ Interest	74	0 2
Salaries		73 14 4	„ Special Donation	10	0 0
Printing and Stationery		91 10 0			
Sundries		33 18 2			
„ Balance		39 19 5			
		192 16 7			
		<u>£431 18 6</u>			<u>£431 18 6</u>

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31, 1921.

Liabilities.		Assets.	
1921.	Dr.	1921.	Cr.
To Composition Fees Capital	£ 1488 18 8	By Investments, namely:	
„ Browning Fund Capital	100 0 0	On Composition Fees Fund Account	
„ Browning Fund Income:	£ 28 12 3	£1196 6s. 11d. Five Per Cent.	£ 1488 18 8
Balance brought forward	3 13 8	War Stock 1929-47	
Interest added in 1921		On General Fund Account	
		£364 16s. 1d. Five Per Cent.	
„ Subscriptions paid in advance	11 11 0	War Stock 1929-47	332 12 6 ¹
„ Special Donation for 1922-3-4 paid in advance	30 0 0	£100 Five-and-Three-Quarter Per Cent. Exchequer Bond 1925	100 0 0
„ Balance brought forward	633 2 2	£300 On Deposit at Bank	300 0 0
Less irrecoverable	12 1 6	On Browning Fund Account	
		£105 5s. 3d. Five Per Cent.	
		War Stock 1929-47	100 0 0
			2321 11 2 ²
Add received for Endowment Fund	30 5 0	„ Subscriptions in arrears	8 8 0
Add balance from Income and Expenditure Account	192 16 7	„ Cash at Bank:	
		Browning Fund	32 5 11
		General Fund	144 12 9
			176 18 8
			£2506 17 10

¹ Includes £132 12s. 6d. of Endowment Fund, invested in £154 5s. 7d. Five Per Cent. War Stock 1929-47.

² Worth on Dec. 31, 1921, @ middle prices, £1939 0s. 4d.

Audited and found correct.

April 12, 1922.

WILLIAM MINET.
WILLIAM GRELLIER.

A. HERVÉ BROWNING,
Treasurer.

Heathcote Lefroy ; Sir Robert Alfred McCall, K.C.V.O., K.C. ; W. H. Manchée ; Ernest Carrington Ouvry, M.B.E., F.S.A. ; Lieut.-Col. Sir Alexander Brooke Pechell, Bart., R.A.M.C., and Samuel Romilly Roget.

The President then read his Address as follows :—

ADDRESS TO THE THIRTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
OF THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON, BY WYATT
WYATT-PAINE, F.S.A., PRESIDENT.

IT again devolves upon me to give you an account of the stewardship of your Officers and Council for the year which has just elapsed. These are very troublous times, and our Society, like all other learned societies, has acutely felt the stress. I am, however, pleased to tell you our expenditure as a corporate body (shall I use that term, for I don't think we are incorporated) has not exceeded our income. And, apropos of this, isn't it Mr. Micawber who says, 'Annual income £20 0s. 0d., annual expenditure £19 19s. 6d., result happiness ; annual income £20 0s. 0d., annual expenditure £20 ought and six, result misery and beggary' ? Well, if (as I believe) this statement embodies more than a modicum of truth, we ought to be happy in having kept our outlay within our income. In fact, I tell you candidly, I feel happy enough personally in spite of the awful ordeal which I am undergoing at the present time. And this enviable condition of solvency, for which we are largely indebted to our Treasurer Mr. Hervé Browning's skill in collecting subscriptions, exists in spite of the fact that the expenses of printing (which constitute a very large item in our yearly accounts) are still, as our Assistant Secretary, Mr. Giuseppi, informs me, 'inordinately high.' Yet, nevertheless, in spite of the high cost of printing, during the year the Society has issued to its Fellows No. 3 of Vol. XII of the *Proceedings*, and, as a publication constituting Vol. XXV of the quarto series, *The Register of the French Church of Le Carré and Berwick Street, London*, for the editorship of which latter we owe many acknowledgments to Mr. Wm. Minet and Miss Susan Minet. Besides these publications *in esse*, there are the

following in the Press, and I hope before long some at least will materialise.

Proceedings, Vol. XII, No. 4 (which will contain *inter alia* the Huguenot War Record). Then among the publications is the *Register of the French Churches of the Savoy and Les Grecs*, London, which is very nearly complete. And a little further removed in the way of preparation there is that great work which I have already mentioned to you more than once, *The Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization of Aliens in England and Ireland, 1701-1800*. Such, ladies and gentlemen, is the list of publications of the Society. And I trust you will agree with me in thinking it a very respectable contribution to Huguenot literature and will consider if there were nothing else it would more than justify the existence of our Society. But there is more, much more; the living voice often conveys more information than the dead letter, and one of the great charms of the Huguenot Society is that on certain stated occasions we meet together, as now, first of all to discuss Dinner, then to listen to a paper on some subject cognate to the objects for which our Society was founded, and afterwards to discuss and criticise the statements and opinions of the lecturer; which, I must say, is generally done in a most sympathetic way. During the Session 1921-1922, we have had three highly interesting lectures. First, on November 9, 1921, a paper by Mr. W. H. Manchée on 'Huguenot London: Charing Cross and St. Martin's Lane'; second, on January 11, 1922, Mr. W. H. Ward, F.S.A., gave a paper entitled 'The Family of Rebotier'; and third, on March 8, 1922, Mr. William Minet dealt with the subject of 'The Revocation.'

Passing to yet another matter, one of the many useful features of our Society is, as you know, the mutual exchange of publications between it and the various kindred associations with which it is affiliated.

In this way we have received from the Huguenot Society of Pennsylvania, *Proceedings*, Vol. I (April 1918); Vols. II and III (in one volume, 1919-20); 'The Condé Family and the Belgian Huguenots' address by Charles Newton Conder, May 6, 1921 (pamphlet).

Société de l'Histoire Vaudoise, Bulletin No. 43, September 1921 (containing a long paper on the 'Reform in Piedmont, 1588-94,' by Dr. Jean Jalla, Archivist of the Society).

Commission de l'Histoire des Eglises Wallones, Bulletin III^{me}., Série Neuvième, Livraison, 1921 (contains in addition to the report of the Commission Proceedings, 1918-20, papers on 'La Politique Française en Hollande sous Henri IV,' by O. Genouy, and another interesting paper by J. C. Van Slee).

Huguenot Society of South Carolina, *Transactions* No. 25 (1920), No. 26 (1921) (contain *inter alia* the Reports of the Proceedings, with the papers read on the occasion of the deferred Four Hundredth Anniversary Celebrations of the birth of Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, held at Charlestown on April 10-13, 1920). There has also been received by the French Hospital, *Le Cartulaire du Jersey*. Subject, 'Guernsey et les autres Iles Normandes' (1921).

And now, ladies and gentlemen, I have to call your attention to a very serious and important matter, as it materially affects the welfare of our Society, which is, I am sure, very dear to the hearts of all of us. During the session 1921-22 we have lost by resignations sixteen Fellows, by death twelve Fellows, and as a set-off up to March of this year we have elected four Fellows, consequently there is a net loss to the Society of twenty-four Fellows. The causes of the resignations are not hard to seek. One is the parlous character of the times which make every expenditure a matter of consideration, and another, I think, is that owing to our expenses as a Society having so much increased we have been compelled (I can assure you most reluctantly) to raise our annual subscription from £1 1s. to £1 11s. 6d., which is really much less than the increase of subscription in cognate societies who suffer from a like trouble. Expenses being so high it was felt by your Council that either efficiency must be sacrificed or the subscription must be enhanced; and I think you will agree that your Council has chosen wisely in leaving the status of the Society unimpaired, although the increase in subscription, voluntary as it is for old Fellows, has had some effect on our numbers. You must not think, however, that we are hard

up, for we are not ; but I do most earnestly and emphatically ask all of you to use your best endeavours to enlist the practical aid of your Huguenot kindred in our work, which is not only most valuable as a repertory of historical information, but is also unique in its kind in this country.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, I have to mention to you those who have passed from us by death. The obituary notice is, I am sorry to say, rather a long one, and our Society is much the poorer by those absent from us.

MR. REGINALD ST. AUBYN ROUMIEU died October 3, 1921. He was one of the original Fellows, and was Treasurer from the foundation of the Society in 1885 to May 1911 ; President from 1911 to 1914 ; and Vice-President from 1914 to his death. He was a Knight of Grace of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, Member of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, a Governor of the Foundling Hospital, etc. By descent he was allied to the families of Roumieu or Romieu, Pantin, Deveau, Adrian and Seheult.

But these matters are merely incidental to the personality of the man. Those who knew him well valued him as a friend, and in that capacity I feel, and I am sure that all who were privileged like myself to enjoy his companionship must feel with me, that we have indeed lost a friend. And beside this personal relation, our Huguenot Society has lost in him one of its most active and enthusiastic supporters. He loved dearly to get a recruit to our numbers, and I only wish there were a good many more like him amongst us at this period of our history as a Society.

SIR JAMES DIGGES LA TOUCHE, K.C.S.I., died October 5, 1921. He joined the Society in 1902, and was subsequently elected a Vice-President. He was a member of the well-known Irish Huguenot family of de la Touche, of which an account has been printed in the Society's *Proceedings*.

MR. CHARLES FRÉDÉRIC ROUSSELET died October 15, 1921. He joined the Society in 1886, served on the Council, and for many years was one of the Society's Honorary Auditors. At one time he was a regular attendant at our meetings, but of late years has been prevented by long and serious illness. He was connected with many Huguenot families, including,

besides his own of Rousselet, Boutemy, Foucar, Garnier, de la Cour, and numerous others.

MR. ARTHUR PHILIP CAZENOVE died October 26, 1921. He joined the Society in 1899, and was connected with the Huguenot families of Cazenove and du Boulay.

MR. HARLEY MAIR GRELLIER died November 19, 1921. He joined the Society in 1888, and at the time of his death was one of the Society's Honorary Auditors. A member of the well-known Huguenot family of Grellier, he was connected with many others, including Turquand, Jourdain, Aubertin, Pain and Hebert. The full list is a long one.

MR. GERY MILNER GIBSON CULLUM, F.S.A., died November 21, 1921. He joined the Society in 1885, and was connected with the Huguenot families of Wittewronge, Vanacker, Haijs, and Le Heup.

MR. THOMAS GAMBIER, Doctor of Medicine, died November 25, 1921. He joined the Society in 1905, and belonged to a Kent Huguenot family. Born at Canterbury in 1837, he founded in 1884 the Eversfield Chest Hospital at St. Leonards.

MR. CECIL HENRY ARTHUR LE BAS died December 3, 1921, on the s.s. *Ormuz*, and was buried at sea. He joined the Society in 1906, and was connected with the Huguenot families of Dalbiac and Tahourdin.

MRS. ARTHUR GIRAUD BROWNING died January 15, 1922. The deceased lady joined the Society in 1887. She was the widow of the Founder of the Society and mother of our present Treasurer; she was connected with the Huguenot families of Giraud, Leger, de Chasteaux, Hervé and Gagnion.

MRS. TUBBS died January 16, 1922, at the age of ninety-one. She joined the Society in 1892, and was connected with the Huguenot families of Minet, Loubier and de Haffrègue.

MR. JOHN CATHCART LEES died February 6, 1922. He joined the Society in 1914, and was connected with the Huguenot family of D'Olier.

MR. FREDERICK A. CRISP, F.S.A., who died in April 1922, joined the Society in 1888.

I have been much interested with the ideas recently

shadowed forth in one or two of the papers that have been read before this Society, and think it opportune to discuss some of the latent and underlying causes of that popular unrest in France that finally evidenced itself in wild revolt against the social, political and religious tyrannies of the Valois and Bourbon kings, and eventually was a largely conducive cause of the Terror that swept away in its ensanguined tide nearly all remaining vestiges of the old monarchical system of France. And for the purposes of this enquiry I think it well to consider not only the general effect of racial characteristics upon the actions of nations, but also in this particular case to discuss the principle upon which was based the Romano-Gallic conceptions of the law dealing with offences against individuals.

It seems probable that Rome gave not only her creed but also many of her political institutions and civil concepts to mediæval and renaissance France. And this seems so in spite of the fact that centuries of territorial occupation by those Teutonic Franks who, issuing from the mysterious depths of the Hercynian forest, must have infused into the Gallic, Burgundian and Lombardic tribes occupying that fair Frankland, or France, as it is called to-day, not only a strong blend of Teutonic blood but also a considerable knowledge of the general principles and working of Teutonic law. As for the Franks themselves, their origin, like the origin of their name, is lost in the obscurity of the ages that have since elapsed. They came from the East, they imposed their Salic laws and strong-handed sway over widespread dominions in the West, and then, after many decades of conquest, as if haunted by some racial nostalgia, reverted as a nation to that land from whence they came, there to be reabsorbed in one or other of those later Teutonic waves, from which sprang, as a degenerate type, the modern Germanic race.

But their strong love of liberty in action and in thought, together with certain fundamental principles of their laws, remained as a living force behind them and tempered that Roman conception of law which subsequently became the basic principle of French jurisprudence. The fundamental and most characteristic feature *in any body of law* will be

found in its method of dealing with offences committed by individuals against the interests of the community. Primarily the *lex talionis* or vindication by retaliation for violent offences against the person was the universal custom among barbaric races. But at a very early stage in all communities an alternative remedy to the unproductive and dangerous procedure of personal vengeance seems to have been adopted. And in Teutonic law the root factor in this second phase of jurisprudence was the institution of a *wehr-geld* or money payment in commutation of, or as a substitution for, the *lex talionis*.

A further characteristic of Frankish law was its clear conception of the duplex nature of crime. Wherever there was an offence against an individual, it was recognised there was also an offence against the community, and the administrators of the law were not content, as was generally the case amongst the Romans, to punish the transgression against the community without regard to the personal damage or loss sustained by the individual. In fact, the vindication of the individual (when crime affected a person) was always the most prominent factor in Teutonic punishment. This redress of the injured person under and by authority of the law was in substitution for the natural right of private vengeance; and the Teuton saw with a clarity of vision superior to that of the Roman that the vindication of the individual was also a vindication of the State and its authority. The converse of this idea, so suggestive of freedom of thought and action, is to be found in the Latin system. According to the Roman conception (which bears some analogy to the Spartan system as formulated by Lycurgus), the individual *qua* individual had no rights which the State was bound to respect; or, in other words, the Roman law gave the individual no rights inviolable as against the State. The essence of criminality in the earlier Roman law was not the violation of an individual right but the effect that such violation had upon the well-being of the community. Thus the homicide was not punished because of his offence against the moral law or as a vindication of the *lex talionis*, but because the State suffered detriment by the untimely death of an individual whose life was, or might be,

of service to the community. If, therefore, the culprit could show that his own life was more valuable to the State than that of the slain person, his crime was (at least, in theory) condoned, and he was exonerated from blame. But actual crime was not the only offence amenable to punishment under Roman law. At the arbitrary instance of the ruler for the time being, whether king, dictator, or imperator, special emergencies of State might make an act criminal, which in ordinary cases and times constituted no violation either of a civic or of a personal right. And in such instances the determination as to criminality, together with the judgment and the punishment, were alike in the hands of the *Comitia*, over whom the ruler either actually or theoretically presided.

Grafted upon this conception of the State as an entity in which all individual rights and interests were merged, or at least to which all were subordinated, was the priestly doctrine that the crime against the State was also an offence against its tutelary gods, which could only be expiated by sacrifice, and until such purgation was made and accepted, not only the individual, but also the State in which the individual entity was merged, might become liable to the divine displeasure. Thus the very word *supplicium* (punishment) is of religious origin and signifies an act of humiliation and sacrifice to the gods in order that the wrath of outraged deity might be appeased by the punishment of the actual transgressor, who for this purpose was declared in divers cases to be sacred and devote to death, and (by certain later laws called *Leges Sacratae*) was executed by some method strongly reminiscent of the offering of a victim as a deodand or atonement.

As time progressed, the number of acts which in earlier days had been regarded as obnoxious to punishment was increased by penalising certain acts of omission, innovation or commission, which it was thought might detract, either from the welfare of the State, by offending the gods, or from the dignity of the individual who represented the State, by substituting new ideals for those honoured by long tradition. Chief amongst these new offences were the twin crimes of refusal to offer sacrifice to the old gods, or without authority of the State or its priests to substitute a new worship, or a

new ethnic deity, for the gods already numbered in the Roman Pantheon. And it was for these two offences that the Christians suffered persecution because, as a well-known writer says, 'they separated themselves from their fellow citizens, they refused to attend the public festivals, they offered no sacrifices to the local deities and refused divine homage to the statues of the emperors, and thus exposed themselves to blame for any public calamity; for the people were accustomed to attribute calamity to the wrath of the neglected local deities.' And this Roman Pantheon was continually being increased because in the Imperial City not only was the deceased Augustus added to the number of gods, but 'Divus' became a standing epithet for all deceased Roman emperors and, by easy transition, the divine honours paid to a dead sovereign became attached to his living successor; who would, in the course of time, share posthumous apotheosis with his deified predecessor. Consequently the substitution of the worship of One whom they regarded as a Hebrew malefactor, for allegiance to that Pantheon which contained not only the tutelary deities of the city but also the images of the deified Augustus and his successors was—in the opinion alike of emperor, priests and people—an act of *lèse-majesté* so flagrant as to merit the exemplary punishment of the culprits as *publici hostes*.

Now, for the purposes of this address, if we substitute for the absurd figment of posthumous imperial deification the almost equally absurd figment of divine right—if, instead of a Caesar in the purple claiming divine attributes, we substitute a Bourbon in a periwig mis-ruling by right divine—if for Zeus, I mean Jupiter, and his train of subsidiary gods we substitute the Blessed Virgin and a whole hagiology of saints and martyrs—if, instead of a comparatively pure Latin race steeped in the traditions of an immemorial idolatry, we substitute a Gallo-Frankish race steeped indeed in gross superstition yet nevertheless a race in whose veins pulsed the richly blended blood of Frank and Teuton as well as Latin—then I think we shall be able to understand how Imperial Rome, though death-stricken, lingered for centuries, whilst royal France, through the ineptitude of its rulers, in a few decades

of disaster, slid by a road 'smooth, easy, inoffensive down to Hell'—the hell of the barricade and the Terror. And nothing more conduced to this facile descent to disaster than the attitude of the Bourbon Princes towards the reformed faith.

So much for the *mise-en-scène* in which the drama turning on the Edict of Nantes and its revocation is laid, and now for the drama itself, which begins with the accession to the throne of France of Henry IV, King of Navarre. And in order properly to understand the position which culminated on April 13, 1598, in a solemn confirmation and extension of the rights and privileges already conferred upon the Huguenot population of France by earlier Edicts and treaties (which solemn confirmation is called 'the Edict'), it is necessary to divide the whole subject into two parts. First, the causes which led to the granting of the Edict; and second, the causes which ultimately led to its revocation.

Protestantism, when it was first introduced into France, was a social as well as a religious movement, and from its earliest days roused so violent an antagonism as ultimately to divide the whole State into two armed camps. The ultracatholic and reactionary section had for its chieftains the Princes of the House of Lorraine, whilst the cause of Reformation alike in Church and State had for its champions and leaders the King of Navarre, the Prince de Condé and the Admiral de Coligny. The fight was à outrance between oppression and liberty. On one side were arrayed the forces of privilege, of tradition and of wealth, alike in Church and State, and on the other side of this politico-religious movement were banded together in a brotherhood, cemented by adversity, the advocates of religious freedom and civil reform. And this latter had for its leader Henry de Bourbon, whose personal religious views were at their highest of a most accommodating character. The motives which inspired the catholic clergy in their rancorous hatred against the Huguenots are readily understandable. Ever since the famous Ordinances of the Reine Blanche and St. Louis, the political and theocratic power of the Roman Church had been steadily declining. What wonder then that the clergy of the decadent Church sought to counterbalance its failing political influence

by imposing an autocratic rule over the hearts and consciences of men? And now the Huguenot reformers were actually assailing the walls of that spiritual Jericho in which the forces of intolerance and superstition had for so long entrenched themselves. And as the silver trumpets of a larger liberty sounded their message of social and religious freedom, the hoary battlements in which ancient error had ensconced itself shook beneath the blasts to their crumbling foundations. And not only was religious supremacy at stake—more mundane things were in danger. The enormous territorial wealth of the Roman Church was imperilled, as its votaries well knew, if once its sway over the consciences of men was shaken.

As for the nobility and privileged classes of France, the reformed faith with its free spirit of examination was inimical to them alike from a *political* as well as from a *social* and religious point of view, because it numbered in its legions the opponents of rank and privilege, when privilege was divorced from civil responsibility, and from the social point of view, because in spite of the adhesion to the new creed of many of the most cultured and liberal-minded spirits of the age it included in its ranks a considerable element of radical thought.

Such was the general condition of France during the latter half of the sixteenth century. Moreover, in addition to the fierce attacks of the reformed party on its venal corruptions, the Catholic party was torn by internal dissensions. What wonder then that at length the Catholics, wearied and disheartened, consented to give the Huguenots some of the concessions they demanded?—always, however, with the mental and jesuitical reservation that they would not abide by their engagements, but would promptly break their solemn pledges as soon as the accursed times were less out of joint. And the reason of this reckless disregard of good faith was not merely a general incompatibility of temperament between the warring factions, but because the aspirations—nay, the very existence—of one section was the absolute negation of the other. So things went on; the Edict of Tolerance of January 16, 1562, was followed by the Massacre of Vassy. The peace of Amboise in 1563 and the Pacification of Moulins

in 1566 were but the precursors of fresh warfare leading up to the Battle of Moncontour and the illusory Peace of Longjumeau in 1568. At length the Peace of St. Germain in 1570 gave the Huguenots substantial guarantees in the shape of certain fortresses which were ceded to them. But the growing strength of the reformers only engendered more implacable hatred and duplicity in the minds of the Catholic party, till their fiery passions at length culminated on August 24, 1572, in the lamentable massacre of St. Bartholomew, just at the moment when the star of the Protestant party seemed in the ascendant and the influence of Coligny with the young King (Charles IX) promised to equipoise the baneful authority of Catherine de Medici and the Guises. But as soon as the stupefying horror of the tragedy had passed, it so roused the furious passions and resistance of the Huguenots as to lead to another illusory treaty, the Peace of La Rochelle. So things in distracted France went on from bad to worse, until the assassination of Henry III (the last of the Valois) cleared the way to the throne for Henry of Navarre. Henry was at that time leader of the reformed party in France, and the person on whom the Huguenots based their fondest hopes for the triumph of liberty of conscience. However, Henry, finding his Protestant predilections the principal obstacle to his recognition by the Catholics as King, remained vacillating and undecided. And this hesitancy was increased upon learning that an arrangement had been made on January 26, 1593, between the Papal Legate, the Spanish Ambassador and the Duke of Mayenne never to treat with him or recognise his claim to the throne of France, until he embraced the Roman Catholic faith.

The Protestants, alarmed at the hesitation of their quondam champion, became anew the prey to serious apprehensions. None knew better than they the temporising character of Henry. Like Mr. Byends of Fairspeech, in Bunyan's immortal allegory, 'He was always most zealous when Religion went in his silver slippers and loved much to walk with him in the street if the sun shone and the people applauded him.' But he was by no means one of those who, as Bunyan says, 'are for hazarding all for God at a clap.' Besides, the Huguenots

had been so often deceived that, in sheer self-defence, they demanded of their wobbling leader distinct pledges of his fidelity to their cause. To pacify them, although 'still but a probationer and candidate' for the heaven of the throne, he issued successively in 1593 and 1594 the Edicts of Mantes and of St. Germain-en-Laye, confirming and determining the rights of his co-religionists. Then came the news of his abjuration; for Henry thought the throne of France well worth a mass, and an earthly crown *in esse* vastly better than a potential heavenly diadem *in posse*. And this perversion to catholicism in one who had solemnly promised never to abandon the faith in which he was born redoubled the fears of the Huguenots. Moreover the Edicts of Mantes and of St. Germain had been granted when the rights of Henry IV were still in dispute, and consequently to so casuistical a mind there would be no great difficulty in Henry King of France annulling the Acts of Henry of Navarre, the pretender to the throne. So on this account alone, if on no other, a formal ratification was held by the Protestants to be essential. The Huguenot agitation was such that Henry (like that unjust judge in the parable who, though he feared not God neither regarded man, yet nevertheless granted the widow's petition because she troubled him) granted on April 13, 1598, the famous Edict of Nantes, which regularised the position of the Huguenots and guaranteed their social and political independence. The drafting of this celebrated Edict occupied for more than a twelvemonth the attention of some of the most famous jurists of France, and its several clauses were subsequently discussed *seriatim* and accepted with some hesitation by the Huguenot delegates. And here I ought to say in justice to Henry—now that the Protestants had actually cornered him he was desirous of removing from the minds of his former co-religionists the last lingering ground of suspicion. Yet, although the Edict of Nantes gave to the reformed much more liberty than any earlier accord had done, and its loyal execution was better assured under the reign of Henry than under that of any preceding Prince, it was nevertheless easy to see, by a mere perusal of its clauses, that it was not the last word in the dispute between Huguenots

and Catholics, and that quarrels would inevitably arise from some one or other of the conditions of the compact. However, in spite of the continual bickerings between the hostile creeds, and the incessant attempts of the rivals to influence Henry, its provisions were loyally observed until the untimely assassination of that monarch by the knife of Ravallac again threw the Protestant party into consternation.

The new king (Louis XIII) was a child and very impressionable, so one of the Huguenot leaders (Duplessis Mornay) openly declared 'The King is a minor, let us be majors.' Thenceforward from 1615 on, with a view to freeing themselves from the more vexatious conditions of the Edict of Nantes, and further to consolidate and confirm their position, the Reformers took to arms. Thereupon Louis XIII promptly declared that such of his recalcitrant subjects of the Reformed Faith as took up arms were guilty of *lèse-majesté*, but at the same time promised complete civil and religious liberty to all those who remained peaceable. This crafty procedure caused division in the Huguenot ranks, and the schism terminated in 1629 with the capture of La Rochelle and the Peace of Privas. So things in France went on: 'To good malignant, to bad men benign; Under her own weight groaning.'

And yet there were certain alleviations to the long-drawn-out agony of the Huguenot party. And these were largely due to two princes of the Roman Church, Cardinal Richelieu and his successor, Cardinal Mazarin. For though both Richelieu and Mazarin were inimical to the principles which animated the souls of the Reformers, the first was too statesmanlike, and the second too crafty, to allow religious prejudice unduly to sway them in a matter so detrimental to the best interests of the State as an open persecution of the Huguenots; who, anticipating and providing against possible spoliation, had in many cases realised their landed estates and turned their energies to such good purpose in commerce and finance, as practically to control a large proportion of the wealth of France. And the wise policy adopted by these Cardinal Ministers was continued by their successor, that great Minister of Finance, Colbert, who well knew that Protestant toleration

was essential to the commercial well-being of France. Indeed, Colbert's Ministry of Finance was the true golden age of the Reformed Faith. Under his powerful protection the Protestants regained confidence and their trade enterprises blossomed out into widespread and enormously successful commercial operations which conduced much to the aggrandisement of the wealth of France.

Even their religious enemies were silent, so potent was the influence of Colbert, but though dumb the Catholics merely nursed their hatred in silence and bided their time. This opportunity, in spite of the remonstrances of Colbert, came in a storm of persecution in 1666, on which date Louis XIV, yielding to the solicitations of the Catholic party, fell under the influence of the ultramontane section of the Church of Rome. The sated voluptuary wanted to make his peace with Heaven, and was suddenly seized with a fever of devotion which was subtly fanned by such men as Bossuet and Harlay, who dazzled him with the glory that would be his should he reconcile his heretic subjects to the true faith. In this nefarious scheme they were ably seconded by Mdme. de Maintenon, who at that period was known only 'as his Majesty's best Friend.' Many were the inducements offered to the reformed to recant their heresy, yet, in spite of the zeal of the clerical agents of catholicism, in spite of the seductive promises made to new converts, abjurations were very rare. Then someone thought of the dragonnades as an expeditious method of driving recalcitrant Huguenots into the path of salvation *via* Rome. But all failed. The penalties of *lèse-majesté*, as in the days of the Caesars, were almost revived. The Huguenots were forbidden to emigrate under penalty of the galleys. And if they stayed and attempted to assert their rights they were shot. Their churches were burnt, their ministers proscribed, their possessions confiscated, their persons tortured, imprisoned and massacred. Truly it may be said of them, as is said of others in like case in Holy Writ, 'of them the world was not worthy.' And at last, instigated by a fanatical priesthood and an equally fanatical mistress or wife (for history is not quite certain as to the position of Mdme. de Maintenon), that unworthy occupant of a royal throne, on October 16, 1685,

sealed his infamy by the revocation of the Edict granted to the Protestants of France by his ancestor Henry IV. Such is a short account of the Genesis and Exodus of the famous Edict of Nantes. It was born of expediency and it died of the superstition of a man who was willing to offer up the best blood of his country as a deodand and atonement for his moral and political transgressions. Truly such as he are of those who love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil.

Huguenot London : Charing Cross and St. Martin's Lane.

By WILLIAM HENRY MANCHÉE.

IN the days of our ancestors, to whom this country offered so kindly a welcome, the surroundings of Trafalgar Square would have been somewhat similar to that of the present Seven Dials. The Strand, a narrow street, was joined by St. Martin's Lane at the present Post Office. On the south Northumberland House, with its grounds running down to the river, occupied the site of Northumberland Avenue, and continued the line of the Strand round the bend into Whitehall. On the north the King's Mews occupied the present Square as far as Nelson's Column, fronting a little Broadway, in the centre of which stood the Eleanor Cross, and, further along, Cockspur Street, with Hedge Lane (now called Whitcomb Street), converging with the Strand towards the lower part of Charing Cross (so commonly to-day thought to be Whitehall), would have completed the picture of an earlier Seven Dials. Despite the Eleanor Cross with its *Broadway*, or village green, as it was then, Charing Cross, although of importance to the Scotsmen to whom it was known as 'Little Edinburgh,' did not then occupy its present position as the centre of modern London; and it is more probable that the district was known as 'at or near Hungerford Market.' Here, at the site of the present railway station, we will begin our survey.

The erection of the Market under the grant of Charles II in 1679, which was to have retrieved the fortunes of the spendthrift Sir Edward Hungerford, is a matter apart from Huguenot history, but its mention will explain the origin of the name. The Market House, in addition to the central hall, contained a large room over and vaults beneath. In 1685 this additional accommodation was in the occupation of Delamy

Frontin, the following year passing into the name of James Frontin of Buckingham Street, Strand, with whom, in some way or another, the foundation of the Hungerford Market Church seems to be connected.¹ In 1699 his name appears on the Establishment of His Majesty's Wine Cellar as 'Gentleman & Keeper of the Ice & Snow' at a salary and board wage of £60 per annum. These officials were seven in number, three receiving £60, three £50 per annum, and the lowest, the Groom of the Cellar and Taster of Wine, £40 only, so that James Frontin was evidently one of the chief officials of the Wine Cellar, an appointment not to be despised in those days as carrying with it certain privileges in the 'trade,' over which the licensing justices of the day had no control. That he was a man taking an active share in the management of the Savoy Church is certain, for it was by him on behalf of that Church that the tenancy of 'Les Grecs' Church was negotiated with the Vestry of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and he subsequently paid the rent to the Vestry. His name in respect of the 'Market room and vaults under' disappears from the rate-books in 1688 and is replaced by that of Sir Stephen Fox, who is assessed for the 'Rooms over' only.

According to Mr. G. B. Beeman² it was in this year that four ministers, with the consent of the Archbishop of Canterbury, opened this room over the Market House for Divine worship, which room we know by the name of Hungerford Market Church. The market rights were extended from three to six days a week in 1685, and in the letters patent granted by James II the purchase of the Market by Sir Stephen Fox and Sir Christopher Wren is recited. The fact of the former's name alone appearing as assessed to rates would make it seem as if either by 1688 Sir Stephen Fox was the sole owner, or that he had taken over the tenancy for the purpose of letting it to the French Church, whom Mr. Beeman informs us paid him £36 per annum. Evelyn mentions Sir Stephen as a 'handsome vertuous and very religious man,'³ and it may be that his intervention here was due to his

¹ His letters of naturalisation are dated April 27, 1675, his description being as born in Tournay, Province of Guienne, son of Peter Frontin.

² *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, vol. viii. p. 34.

³ *Diary*, p. 422, September 6, 1680.

sympathy with the refugees, aroused by Frontin. This, coupled with his important position at Court as Paymaster-General to the Forces, would have enabled him to divert a portion of the Royal Bounty in this direction.

Mr. Beeman gives the date of the church's removal to Castle Street as 1700-1, but Mr. McMaster, writing from local records, mentions that a committee of residents in connexion with a school for poor children, started under the auspices of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, hired the room formerly in the occupation of the French Church in July 1699, the school being opened in the August following. It would seem, therefore, that the Market Room was vacated by the Huguenots at the June quarter, for the assessment of the Castle Street Church does not appear on the rate-books until 1700. The rates were payable half-yearly, and this would tally with the first entry of the Castle Street Church on the 1700 rate-book, assuming of course that the rates were not payable in advance. The school so founded has now become the Middle School of Charing Cross Road. In 1700 it was decided to separate the boys and girls, and a school was opened for the girls in Castle Street, Leicester Square. Its first mistress was a Mrs. Mary Harbin, then lodging at 'The Coffee Mill and Sugar Loaf' in St. James's Street, and her salary was fixed at £24 per annum, with lodging. Mrs. Harbin, although otherwise in every way giving satisfaction, seems to have been a non-juror, for in 1716 she was the subject of an official inquiry into this particular matter, and as a result was asked to resign, a special testimonial to her long service and giving the cause of her leaving, however, being handed to her on her resignation. It is curious in view of King James's faith how many objected to the alteration in the prayers for the King, deeming their oath of allegiance given to King James as one which could not be broken. Sir George Wheler nearly suffered from the same cause for conscience' sake, for a curate of his at Farningham named Genay charged him with omitting the prayers for royalty in his services.

Proceeding westward towards the present Admiralty Arch, in 1600 one would have come to the Eleanor Cross, which for three years escaped the order of Parliament in 1644 for the

demolition of the Cheapside and other Crosses in London. Among the contemporary literature of the period the amusing ballad called 'The Downfall of Charing Cross,' and commencing

'Undone, undone, the lawyers are,
They wander about the Town,'

was set to music by F. Farmiloe, in a trio printed in 'The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion,' published 1687. The ballad is to be found in Percy's 'Reliques,' the following verse, in view of modern legislation, appealing most of all to the present time :

'The Committee said that verily
To Poverty it was bent ;
For ought I know, it might be so,
For to Church it never went.
What with excise, and such device
The Kingdom doth begin
To think you'll leave them ne'er a cross
Without doors nor within.'

On the approximate site of the Eleanor Cross now stands the statue of King Charles I, the work of the Huguenot sculptor Hubert Le Sueur, a pupil of the celebrated John of Bologna. The early history of this statue is somewhat vague. It is known that it was originally ordered by Sir Richard Weston, the Lord High Treasurer, later the Earl of Portland, in the year 1630, and, by an agreement dated January 16, 1631, Le Sueur was to execute the work in bronze within eighteen months. He was also to take the advice of the King's Riders of great horses (cavalrymen), and to have, for the full finishing thereof and placing it in the Lord Treasurer's garden at Roehampton, the sum of £600. The statue bears out the date of this agreement, the letters

HUBER LESVER
(fe)cit 1633

appearing on the left forefoot.¹ It was cast on a plot of ground in King Street, behind St. Paul's, Covent Garden, and

¹ Macmichael's *Charing Cross*.

when completed stored in the crypt of that church. There is no record of its erection at Roehampton, and in some manner it seems to have been considered national property. How this happened is a mystery, but it may be accounted for by an Exchequer record of 1637, a payment being made at that date to Le Sueur of £300 on account of £729 due for statues and images. That this payment may represent part or all he received for the statue is rather borne out by a later payment of £170 in discharge of £340 for two statues in brass of James I and Charles I, which are now to be found at the west doors of Winchester Cathedral. Parliament, occupied as it was in its quarrel with the King, seems to have overlooked the statue until 1650, when it orders 'Mr. Sergeant to make enquiry after the statue of the late King in Covent Garden.'¹ Nothing seems to have been done, for in 1655 there is the further order: 'Desborrow to state the matter of fact touching a statue in the Churchyard of Covent Garden and to report.'² It seems very probable that the latter entry refers to the sale of the statue, which record is also missing. It is generally stated that Parliament ordered its sale to John Rivet, a brazier at 'The Dial,' near Holborn Conduit, as old metal conditionally on his breaking it up. The name of the purchaser leads one to assume his Huguenot origin, and his studious care in failing to destroy what was possibly a fellow-Huguenot's work seems rather to confirm this. Concealing it, according to general report, under stacks of timber, to ward off suspicion he announced a sale of knife handles and forks made from the metal. As a business proposition the result was excellent. Cavaliers bought for love of their martyred saint, Roundheads as a mark of their triumph, so that, suiting both sides equally well, Rivet must have made a very fair sum out of his business enterprise. The idea was not original, for Lilly states that knife and fork handles were made out of the stone from the old Eleanor Cross, which were polished after being cut into shape, and this may have suggested to Rivet the utilisation of metal, presumably part of the statue, for a similar purpose.

It is often stated that the statue was first erected on its

¹ *Domestic State Papers*, October 16, 1650.

² *Ib.*, July 31, 1655.

present site at some date prior to the Commonwealth, and this is strengthened by contemporary nursery rhymes like :

‘As I was going by Charing Cross,
I saw a black man upon a black horse.
They told me it was King Charles the First.
Oh dear ! My heart was ready to burst.’¹

From the facts given, assuming that the statue occupies the site of the old Cross, it could only have been there after 1637 and removed before 1650. There is, however, no record of its erection at Charing Cross during this period, and the minutes of St. Martin’s Vestry certainly point to the ruined Cross remaining *in situ* until 1657. In 1646 two vestrymen were appointed to collect subscriptions from the inhabitants of Charing for the railing in of the waste land, but the result is not reported. Some ten years later (1656) a Mr. Charles Rich attempted to build on the land, and a petition was sent to the Lord Protector to stay the building. In 1657 the stones of the old Cross were dug up and sold for the large sum of £38 14s. 4d., the pavement levelled and railed in. The only reasonable assumption, therefore, from all this seems to be that the statue on its completion was stored in the vaults at St. Paul’s, Covent Garden, and there remained until its erection here at a much later date.

On the restoration of monarchy there is another puzzle as to its ownership, for Jerome, Earl of Portland, the son of the Lord High Treasurer, claimed the statue from Rivet, who, he must have learnt, had concealed and not broken it up. Rivet refused to surrender his purchase, so in May 1660, failing a Court to which he could make the necessary application, Lord Portland requested the House of Lords to prohibit the sale, defacement, or otherwise dealing with the statue, and in the July following Rivet was ordered to permit the Sheriff of London to serve notice of recovery. As a result of the proceedings which doubtless followed, Rivet surrendered his right of ownership and delivered up the statue. In the Church vaults it probably still remained until 1674, when, by the order of Earl Danby, it was erected upon its present site.

¹ J. C. Halliwell, *Nursery Rhymes and Nursery Tales of England*, pp. 4, 135.

The plinth on which it stands is stated to have been designed by Sir Christopher Wren, and was erected not by Grinling Gibbons, as is so often alleged, but by Joshua Marshall, the Crown master mason, or architect, as we should term him to-day. The statue itself is notable as the first equestrian one erected in this country. In 1810 the sword-buckle and straps fell off, and later, about the time of Queen Victoria's Coronation, on the erection of a stand there, some relic-hunter managed to get away with the old rapier,¹ and possibly the George pendant, which is also missing. It is also thought that the half-closed hand may have held a baton, but as to this there is no evidence.

In early days the statue formed a very convenient address. Among others the Widow Cressett advertises from 'The Two Golden Sugar Loaves,' facing 'The King on horseback,' her supplies from Bath :

'By order of the Master of the Bath and Pumper, and also of the Master of the Hot Well, that she hath them fresh every Wednesday and Saturday. She also sells the true German Spaw and all other Mineral Waters.'²

Mrs. Cressett's name appears on the rate-books from 1710 to 1730, and she was probably the relict of Edward Cressett, of the same address, fined by the Burgess Court of Westminster for 'bad pavement' fronting his house—that is, neglecting to keep it in proper repair.

Adjacent to the statue formerly stood the old pillory. The last person to undergo this punishment did so as late as June 22, 1830, at the Old Bailey. This is also another case in which the Huguenots might claim a distinctive part, for the name of the culprit is given as Peter James Bossy, his crime being that of perjury and his sentence to stand in the pillory daily for six months, prior to transportation. It was at Charing Cross that Daniel Defoe served his sentence of three days in the pillory. In his case the ordeal was not an unhappy one. The populace formed a guard of honour, decorated the pillory with flowers, and continually drank to his health.

¹ Chambers's *Book of Days*, vol. i. p. 504.

² F. C. Hilton Price in *Middlesex and Herts. Notes and Queries*, 1897, p. 199.

His poem, 'Hymn to the Pillory,' which was eagerly bought by the crowd, contains the following lines, to which Sir Sidney Lee draws attention :

' Tell them the men that placed him here
Are scandals to the times,
Are at a loss to find his guilt,
And can't commit his crimes ! '

The Camisards also supplied their quota to this pillory. Their welcome to this country was due to a wish by the Government to annoy its worthy neighbour of France. The religious fervour of these French prophets, however, carried them to such outrageous lengths that, for the sake of the reputation of the Huguenot Church, the Consistory at Threadneedle Street prosecuted them as cheats and frauds. One result of this prosecution was the sentence by the Queen's Bench on John Aude, Nicholas Facio, and another to two days in the pillory for the printing and publishing of the writings of Elias Marion, a sentence which was duly carried into effect at this spot.¹

At the corner of Craig's Court (now forming part of the building so familiar until recently as Cox's Bank) was the shop of Paul Fourdrinier, the engraver. Born at Amsterdam in 1698, he was apprenticed to Bernard Picart, the famous engraver, and did not come to England until 1719. Some two years later he married Suzanne, the daughter of Louis Grolleau. Of his early business career but little is known, although as early as 1724 his work appears in the prints engraved by him for Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*. In 1731 he founded here the business of a stationer, map and print seller, a business which lasted for three generations. Whatever his motives were in leaving his work as an engraver to embark in trade, there is no doubt as to his wisdom in the selection of this spot, at that time the centre of fashionable shops, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the Admiralty. Paul Fourdrinier died in 1758, and was buried at Wandsworth. Most of his children were baptised at Les Grecs Church, his two sons, Henry and Charles, both becoming stationers. The eldest son, Henry,

¹ The London Museum has a model showing old Charing Cross and the pillory.

who was apprenticed to Mr. William Baker of Lombard Street, and in 1757 became his partner, was the father of the patentee of the well-known paper-making machine. Charles, the younger son, succeeded to the business at Charing Cross, and died in 1803, leaving one son and two daughters. He was buried at St. Martin's, the son, Charles Kenneth Mackenzie, carrying on the business until 1811. Whether that is the date of the latter's death is uncertain, but in that year the name of Fourdrinier, after eighty years' continuous occupation, disappears from the rate-books, and a striking link of Huguenot interest with Charing Cross ceases.¹ At No. 8, nearer the Strand, and roughly the corner of Northumberland Avenue, was the shop of John Le Roux, the clockmaker, to whom a reference is made later. Below Craig's Court stood the 'Royal' coffee-house, a favourite resort of stockjobbers, paymasters, and courtiers. It was probably so named by the proprietor, Alexander Man, 'Coffee, Tea & Chocolate Maker to William III.' Later it was known as 'Man's,' and finally as 'Old Man's,' a competitor in Buckingham Court opposite having opened as 'Young Man's.' Over against the latter, at Mr. Evans's, a glover, 'Cornaro's drops' were on sale in 1721. It is stated that this nostrum was named after Lewis Cornaro, a Venetian, who by dieting managed to reduce his food to 12 oz. per diem, and by this means lived to the age of ninety-eight. There was, however, a Charles Cannaro in Orange Street, whose mixture it probably was. James Puech, a neighbour of Foudrinier's, prefers when advertising to use the 'Young Man's,' possibly as more applicable to his clientèle:

'Whereas the late Anthony Rodrigues (famous in his lifetime for preparing snuff) did for valuable consideration impart his Secret of mixing and preparing the said Snuff to Mr. James Puech. These are therefore to give Notice That all the said sorts of Snuff are carefully and exactly prepared by the said James Puech and sold by him at the House Orange Tree opposite Young Mans Coffee House at Charing Cross.'²

Anthony Rodrigues lived at the Water-side, Charing Cross, in 1686-7, and was probably a refugee from Portugal.

¹ Information by Captain Norman Fourdrinier.

² *London Gazette*, April 24, 1704.

In the neighbourhood of Whitehall and Scotland Yard lived the numerous Court officials. Owing to their freedom from liability to 'Parish and Ward,' their names cannot be traced on the rate-books. Among them was that of Thomas Hubert, the King's watchmaker. The family appears in the registers of both Les Grecs and the Savoy churches, but this particular name does not appear. It is very probable that he was some connexion of David Hubert, the watchmaker of the Strand, who came from La Rochelle. In 1680 he was consulted by St. Martin's Vestry as to a new clock and bell for the church, and from a note on the Vestry minutes at that date it appears that 'Mr. Clement, Clockmaker in Maiden Lane Southwarke, made the Clock at The Horseguards for Mr. Jewbert.' This is not, however, the present thirty-hour clock made by Ainsworth Thwaites of Clerkenwell, and renovated in 1815 by Vulliamy, in whose care it continued until 1851.

The Admiralty was a great centre for political information and gossip. Near by sat 'the mery Cobler at Charing Cross,' Crespin, who worked to the monotonous wording of 'The King said to the Queen, and the Queen said to the King.' One day a passer-by, desirous of further information, stopped and inquired, 'What *was* it the King said to the Queen, and the Queen said to the King?' The unexpected reply, emphasised by a strap across the audacious inquirer's shoulders, was :

'How now, Saucebox ! It's a fine Age we live in, when such Coxcombs as you must be prying into Matters of State. I'd have you know, Sirrah, I am too loyal a subject to betray the King's secrets, so pray get you gone, and don't interrupt me in my Lawful Occupation lest I stick an Awl into ye and mark ye for a fool that meddles with what ye have nothing to do.' ¹

The neighbourhood for many years furnished a centre for the exhibition of monstrosities and curious things. It will be recollected that the first Punch and Judy show in England is presumed to have been given here, and, curiously enough, the payments for rent are made by a Frenchman.

Vaucanson, in the exhibition of his mechanical duck, which

¹ *London Spy* (Edward Ward), 1709, part ix. pp. 200-201.

swam, quacked, waved its wings, preened its feathers, and ate barley from the hand, hired the Long Room at the Haymarket Opera House for the purpose. His invention attracted the notice of all the prominent scientists of the day, and its description, forming a paper to the Royal Academy of Science, was translated by Dr. Jean Thomas Desaguliers. Vaucanson will, however, be better known by his improvements in the working of the silk loom, which preceded the now universal Jacquard loom. In the *Daily Advertiser* of April 6, 1742, appears the notice of an early motor-car, all the more remarkable as probably the invention of a French Swiss :

‘ This is to acquaint all Lovers of Ingenuity that there is lately arrived from the Canton of Berne in Switzerland and to be seen at The Mitre Tavern Charing Cross, from Nine in the Morning till Nine at Night, a most curious Chaise that travels without Horses. This beautiful convenient Machine is so simply contriv’d, and easily manag’d, as to travel upwards of forty Miles a Day with very little trouble to the Rider, or Danger of being put out of Order. The whole Thing, though capable of carrying three Persons, weighs less than Two Hundred Weight.’

Like many others, the invention was evidently before its time, and failed to capture the public favour, for, beyond the advertisement, there seems to be no further record of its use.

Behind the Admiralty is to be found the remains of that curious backwater of Charing Cross, one of London’s earliest tea-gardens, the resort of the gentry in the Stuart days, and later the residence of many famous personages, and later still in the public eye as the home of the London County Council. Spring Gardens, of later date, with its shape of the letter E, facing the Park, if one includes New Street as the centre arm, has disappeared to give way to the new Admiralty buildings, and but few of the old houses are left. At the southern end, adjoining Buckingham Court, which still exists although fenced in, was the house of Mrs. Centlivre, the wife of the Chef to Queen Anne, but better known as a famous actress of her day. The name appears on the rate-books under the rather appropriate entry of ‘ Saint Liver.’ On the north, alongside the pathway and entrance to the Park granted by the Crown in 1699, stood until quite recently the old town

house of Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, the well-known Cabinet Minister, later Lord Eversley, which, with its pretty walled-in garden, has furnished the ground for a portion of the new Admiralty buildings. On the opposite side of this walk stood the Huguenot Church of Spring Gardens, connected with the Savoy Church. It was burnt in December 1716, a fire which attracted some public notice at the time, through George II, then Prince of Wales, helping to extinguish the flames. The church and the Thatched House Tavern adjoining were both destroyed, but a powder magazine near by was saved, and a catastrophe averted, mainly through the exertions of the Prince, whose vocation in life should have been that of Superintendent of the fire brigade, judging by the practical assistance he was in the habit of giving at the outbreak of any fire at which he could be present.

Some confusion seems to exist between this church and that of St. Matthew's, the chapel-of-ease to St. Martin's-in-the-Fields Church, which stood at the corner of New Street. Any doubt on this point is settled by J. T. Smith, who in his *Antiquities of Westminster* gives a plan, dated as between 1731 and 1748, showing both churches. Mr. Beeman mentions a drawing of the Horse Guards Parade dated 1685, which shows the French Church among the trees, and, taking into account the few houses then built in Spring Gardens, it might be either church. Seymour, in 1725, states that the French Church was pulled down to make an addition to the house then occupied by Senator Craggs, and another built near to the same spot 'for the use of the inhabitants of Spring Gardens,' thus also confusing the two churches. As belonging to a government official, Senator Craggs's house cannot be identified from the rate-books, but it is certain that it was on this spot facing the walk into the Park, for there are records on the Vestry minutes of St. Martin's of the removal of shops 'in the passage adjoining Senator Craggs's house,' and later, in 1721, a claim made upon his representatives for land, 'part of the passage leading into the Park,' which had been built upon by him. There was only one 'passage into the Park' at that date, and it seems perfectly clear, therefore, taking the plan given by Mr. Smith and these minutes, that the Huguenot Church of Spring

Gardens was situated at this spot. The first church, so far as can be traced, seems to have been an outbuilding belonging to Lord Jermyn's house, which stood here, and was later replaced by Senator Craggs's; and the conclusion may safely be drawn that the first church was inside, and the second just outside, the present gate, Senator Craggs's house occupying a spot approximating to the main entrance of the old L.C.C. offices. This is borne out by Kip's landscape map of London from St. James's Park which places the building at this spot. On the closing of the Church it was turned into secular use. A Grand Concert is advertised there on May 14, 1764, for the benefit of Mrs. Chazal, *née* Gamborini. Tickets were obtainable from Mrs. Chazal at the corner of Castle Court, opposite to the New Exchange Buildings, and from, among others, Mr. Harache, the jeweller of Pall Mall. Later it appears as the Great Exhibition Room opened February 13, 1782. The building passed through various hands—in 1810, as Wigley's Royal Bazaar, announcing an exhibition of mechanical toys by Maillardet, and later engineering curiosities by Thioden. It is probable that this was also the building utilised by the Incorporated Society of Artists for their annual exhibitions, to which Isaac Gosset was a regular contributor.

Adjoining the L.C.C. Offices, at the corner of the main street, the time-ball at Dent's old premises, elevated daily at five minutes to one, and dropping by electric current from Greenwich at the hour, used to be one of the sights of London. The synchronising of time is now much more general, but it is not so many years since that a very good living was earned by a man, and later his daughter, who each week supplied the West End shops with 'Greenwich time.' The business in Cockspur Street, from a Huguenot point of view, is even more interesting than that of Paul Fourdrinier's in Charing Cross, for it was carried on for nearly 150 years in the same premises. From 1778 to 1810 it was the shop of Lewis Recordon, the watch and clockmaker, and he was succeeded by Peter Desgranges, whose business was taken over by Edward John Dent. The latter was born in 1790 and died in 1853. Apprenticed to a tallow-chandler, he went to live with Richard

Rippon, the watchmaker of King Street, Seven Dials, and from him learnt the manufacture of repeating-watches, then, as now, the best paid side of the watch trade. After working as a finisher of these particular watches, he joined John Roger Arnold in partnership at 84 Strand. At the expiration of this partnership he began on his own account at 82 Strand, removing later to No. 61, and this business he extended by taking Desgranges' shop, and another at the Royal Exchange. Dent married the widow of Richard Rippon, and her sons, Frederick and Robert, both adopted their step-father's name.

Even more interesting is the firm's connexion with 'Big Ben,' the clock at Westminster. The clock was designed by Denison, Lord Grimthorpe, who made it a stipulation that the maximum error per week should not be more than one minute. Its manufacture was offered to Vulliamy, then the foremost in the trade, who declined the contract on the ground of the impossibility of complying with this particular condition. Frederick Rippon, or Dent as he was then known, undertook the work despite the opinion of Vulliamy, and later history has proved how mistaken the best of authorities can be. It certainly adds to the interest of this old firm to connect it with not only *the* clock of London, but also the one from which all our time is taken, Frederick Dent being also the maker of the Standard Clock at the Royal Observatory, the primary time-keeper of the United Kingdom. The firm's watches and clocks are still considered among the best of English manufacture, and it is not surprising to find them bearing this reputation, in view of the trustworthy work for which the Huguenots and their descendants are generally noted. Traditions in these matter-of-fact days have but little value, but there were no doubt many who were sorry to see the old house taken over by an American Steamship Company, and the familiar shop remove into semi-obscurity in premises facing the main street.

Cockspur Street roughly approximates to the sixteenth-century village of Charing. It was probably so called from the steel cockspurs, whose sale was first established in this street. According to Mr. Macmichael, these spurs are still to be obtained in the neighbourhood, the principal trade being with

India and South America. The first almshouses of St. Martin's were situated here, and on their removal to a spot adjacent to Les Grecs Church, Powell's Buildings were erected on their site. In this little byeway from the main street there appear to have lived the families of Poupart, Chauvet, Chenevix and Thomond.

Passing across Trafalgar Square eastwards, by the front of the King's Mews, to the present Post Office, one would have come to the Chequers Inn at the foot of West Church Lane, as it was called when built in 1613. The southern end of this lane was very narrow. Forming, as it did, the main road to Westminster from the north, the advent of hackney coaches made its widening an urgent necessity. In 1689 we find Dr. Barbon petitioning Parliament for part of the revenue from the taxation on these coaches to be used for the widening, and a sum was granted for this purpose. His petition was not altogether disinterested, for it seems that he was an adjoining landowner. Part of his property was purchased by the Vestry of St. Martin's in July 1679 for an addition to the churchyard on the south side, a sale which there was some difficulty in getting him to complete, proceedings having to be taken in 1681 to compel him to do so. Barbon, or Barebones, as he is better known to Englishmen, must have been a great land speculator for those days, for he owned Newport Market, which will be dealt with later.

Passing up the lane, bordered later by the rookery of courts and alleys known as the Bermudas, Carribee, or Porridge Island, one would come to St. Martin's Church. The presentation to this living is in the gift of the Bishop of London, except on the elevation of the incumbent to a bishopric, when the right reverts to the Crown. On Dr. Tenison being created Bishop of Lincoln in 1693, the Crown, in exercise of this right, nominated Dr. Nicholas Gouge, Fellow of St. Catharine's Hall, Rector of Coton, and later of Boddington. The Bishop of London had, meanwhile, inducted Dr. Lancaster, and this led to an action in which the appointment by the Crown was duly upheld. Notwithstanding this judgment, Dr. Lancaster held the living for six months before he surrendered, and made that period notable by an action for baptismal fees against a

Huguenot parishioner named Bardeaux, who had taken his child to the Savoy Church, of which he was doubtless a member,¹ and so deprived the church of 2s. 6d. and its clerk of 1s. in fees. The record is of additional interest from the fact of the vicar's employing the Huguenot lawyer, Sir Creswell Levinge, who later appeared as one of the counsel for the Seven Bishops on their trial in 1688 for malicious libel and sedition against the Crown. Macaulay, who for some reason seems to have disliked the Huguenots as a whole, and never can find any redeeming point in their characters, mentions Sir Creswell as, although a man of great knowledge and experience, of a singularly timid nature, removed from the Bench as afraid to serve the purposes of the Government, and at this trial only accepting his brief under threat from the attorneys that if he did not accept it he would never have another.² Dr. Gouge held the living only one year, dying in October 1694, when the Bishop again inducted his nominee, from whom Lancaster Court took its name.

It may be remembered that, until June 1825, when it was abolished, one of the formalities in accepting office under the Crown was the taking of the Sacrament as well as the oath of allegiance. This condition also applied to the grant of naturalisation, a certificate of its due performance being issued in each case by the clergyman, countersigned by his wardens. St. Martin's-in-the-Fields was very largely used by officials for this purpose, and a perusal of Dr. Shaw's lists, published by the Huguenot Society, will also show how many of the French refugees obtained here the necessary certificate on their taking up grants of naturalisation.

An oft-told tale is that of the shooting affray which took place at this church during evening service on September 10, 1729. According to Malcolm, the offender was a Roger Campazol, son of the Governor of Brest, who had been cheated by his landlord, a Huguenot, resident near the Seven Dials, out of the large sum of £138, and as a consequence became mentally deranged. Entering the church, the poor lunatic fired twice at the clergyman, one shot passing through his

¹ J. McMaster, *Short History of the Royal Parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields*.
Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. i. p. 512.

surplice, and the other wounding a member of the congregation near. The offender was only secured after a desperate struggle and handed over to the police. He was later committed to Newgate, where he attempted to hang himself. What ultimately became of him, history does not record. The *London Journal* of October 1729 throws a further light upon the occurrence. It states that on account of madness Campazol had been confined in France by his relations, and, unknown to anyone but his mother, escaped to England, the first intimation of his whereabouts being the report of his trial in England. The first part of this story is frequently given, but it is rare to find the second, which in justice to the Huguenot landlord should be added, for the alleged fraud was doubtless only another of the poor man's delusions.

In the domestic affairs of the parish the Church and its Vestry were the Rulers, the Wardens and the minor officials acting on authority given by the Vestry. The various appointments do not seem to have been sought after, and refusals to serve in the case of a Warden meant the payment of £20, a regulation of which use was made to raise funds by appointing persons unlikely to serve. In those days it was evidently not an easy post to fill, for at one Vestry the Wardens are forbidden to spend more than 5s. at a time without the consent of the Vestry, and naturally, as even to-day, criticism of their accounts and actions was not infrequent. An amusing list of the Wardens' duties is given by Mr. McMaster, himself a Warden of modern date, among them being :

‘ To see people attended the parish Church every Sunday and Holyday, and to collect fines of a shilling a time from those who refused to attend.

‘ The whipping of boys who played in Church, taking off the hats of those who refused to remove them, and the ejection of anyone disturbing a Service.’

The Wardens served for two years, the first as Junior Warden, and the second as Senior. The accounts were rendered by the Senior Warden, he being the person then liable in any action or suit against the parish. The Wardens' accounts are for a long period preceded by a list of burial fees, which in their

detail furnish a valuable register of every death in the parish for that year, those buried outside the parish being also given with their place of burial.

Taken as an example, Francis Boteler's year of office was a very full one. On January 25, 1698, he appears to have buried a daughter, Frances, and on February 13 there followed the proclamation of William III, with the Coronation on April 11, on both of which occasions a special peal of bells had to be rung. In February the churchyard was extended at the east end, and in June a 'Wormshire' fire-engine was presented by Sir Charles Cotterell, the presentation ceremony being signalled by an artificial fire, created for the purpose of demonstrating the engine's utility. In August there was a genuine fire in Bedfordbury, in which several lives were lost, among them, a serious matter for the Wardens, an official of another district who had come in to help. A Watch House was also built by Sir Charles Cotterell, and its presentation to the parish in June was made the occasion of another ceremonial function. Added to the fact that the bell-ringers 'put an affront' on the Vicar, who forthwith dismissed them as a body, leaving the Wardens to secure a fresh set of men, one can picture that, at any rate in that particular year, the post of churchwarden was no sinecure. To all this, in the ordinary service of a Warden, must be added the official witnessing of the various certificates given by the clergy. In those for naturalisation purposes, according to Dr. Shaw's lists, no witness appears more frequently in 1698 than Francis Boteler. Whether he was of French origin is doubtful, although his name would lead one to think so.¹

In 1735 Peter Joumard, buttonmaker, of Orange Street, was Churchwarden. His year of office was marked by the terrible fire in Cecil and St. Martin's Courts, in which Hogarth's mother is said to have died from fright.² Its origin was due to the revenge taken by Mrs. Calloway, an inn-keeper, of Cecil Court, who to spite her landlord set her own premises alight, and incidentally many of her neighbours also. According to the rate-books, 21 houses were damaged or destroyed, 12 in Cecil Court being marked as 'burnt out,' and 9 others, 6 of

¹ But it frequently appears as Butler.

² *Gent's Magazine*, June 11, 1735.

which were in St. Martin's Court, being marked 'rates remitted by the Justices.' The sufferers included Peter Ducase and Joachim Beanza of Cecil Court, and Elizabeth Aumache and Peter Lavergue of St. Martin's Court, all four having their rates remitted. The parish allowed compensation to the sufferers at the rate of 11s. 6d., 6s., and 5s. in the £, and the Treasury later contributing another £100, a further 1s. in the £ was added to the former amount, Andrew Vallin being paid a further additional £5 as the occupier of two houses. It would seem that the total damage was £1900. In 1757 both Wardens were of French descent, the Senior being Andrew Richard, and his Junior Francis Rybot.

In the family of Rybot we have a very good example of the class of citizen which England gained at this period. The grandfather of the Churchwarden, also a Francis, obtained his grant of naturalisation on March 1, 1699-1700, and the necessary certificate was granted at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. The entry runs :

' Francis Rybot, son of Francis Rybot and Mary his wife of Mons, Touraine. Witnesses, Thos. Gates, Curate, Isaac Godfrey, Churchwarden, Francis Joly de Ternac, and Daniel Pellissier.'

He settled in Round Court, then the centre of the western silk market, as a silk mercer, and it is perhaps sufficient to mention that in 1716 he was appointed as Overseer for the New Street and Spur Alley Wards, his own particular district, to show the social position which by then he had attained, for to have been selected for this post, honorary as it was, indicates that he was a man of some standing in his neighbourhood. The family continued the business of silk mercers for some years in New Round Court adjoining, Francis Rybot, the Warden, like Courtauld the silversmith, transferring his business to the City. There as a prominent man in the commercial world he became connected with the East India Company, in whose service many of his family have earned honourable distinction. The grandson Francis in the sixth generation is one of our Fellows, and his brother, who was with General Townshend at the fall of Kut, is the Secretary of the Société Jersiaise.

Francis Rybot succeeded as Senior Warden in 1758, and

during that year the Vestry purchased Trinity Chapel with five houses adjoining from Sir George Nandeput for £400. On his accounts appears the entry

‘Of John Girardot, a year’s ground rent of the French,
heretofore Greek Church, due Ladyday 1759 . £24.’

Among the burials appear those of Isaac le Sturgeon, the Minister of Les Grecs Church, and of Louis Peter Boitard, the engraver, both of whom were buried in the ground opposite to the Church, to which reference is made later. The Church sittings were dealt with by the Vestry, the pews at that date being in the gallery only, and Mr. Rybot’s accounts contain the names of Desnoyers, Minier, Boteler, Ardesoif, Sioift, Le Roux, Cotes, Sharrer, Peppeoil, Orpin, Boursot, and Cartony, an indication at that date of how many of our ancestors were drifting away from their own Churches and becoming merged in the English nation and its customs. The accounts also furnish the names of some of the tradesmen employed :

		£	s.	d.
1757.	Vibart, for candles	10	10	0
1758.	Mr. Chassereau, Surveyor	1	6	0
	Channon, Builder	16	2	6
	Balack, linen		6	2
	Durdin, lighting lamps	23	2	0
1759.	Blondell, for copies of printed papers	16	6	
	Lemoine, carpenter	2	0	

The principal officers under the Churchwardens were the Overseers. Their duties were mainly the collection of rates and the relief of the poor. The latter, comprising also the weekly doles to the pensioners, must have meant a serious claim on the officials’ time, and apparently the only recompense was a relief from the payment of rates. Among the Overseers appointed there figure many French names. In the year 1739 no less than five of the six appointed bear foreign names. They are given as : Samuel Boleo [Boileau], Richard Justins, William Darker, Paul Minier, Abraham Buteaux, and Peter Archambo. In 1702 the Vestry decided that anyone nominated as Overseer and refusing to serve should pay a fine of £12, unless he had acted as Constable, in which case the fine was to be reduced

to £10. Possibly owing to the difficulty in getting men to act, the number was reduced to three in 1740, but even in Mr. Rybot's year of office the sum of £12 each was paid by Jacob Bourset, Thomas Brittenhough, and James Mann to avoid service. The practice of nominating persons unwilling to serve for the purpose of collecting fines for parish purposes was utilised in this office also. In one year no less than fourteen unfortunates pay a fine of £12 each, and in 1714 Samuel Cybot, a jeweller of Orange Street, lodges a complaint that, having paid his fine for not serving as Overseer, the Churchwardens had forthwith made him a Constable, a particularly hard piece of luck, as the Vestry evidently thought, for the Clerk is directed to request that another Constable be appointed in his place. This was duly carried out, the office being conferred on another Frenchman, Francis Crisp.

The Vestry of those days was not the one which we are accustomed to remember as preceding the municipal government of to-day. In 1662, on the pretext of keeping out those disloyal to the King, a certain number of parishioners of this parish, in common with those of other parishes, obtained a faculty from the Bishop of London to form a 'Select Vestry,' and it was this close corporation, elected in turn by the body itself, which ruled the parish until 1834. In 1715 the scandal of these Select Vestries came under the notice of Parliament, which appointed a Committee to enquire into their working. St. Martin's is reported on as the most notable. In the Report it is stated, *inter alia*, that, although some French inhabitants and some dissenters had to pay their share of the rates, yet they received nothing out of them for the maintenance of their own poor, whom they saw to themselves. By 1828 matters seem to have reached a crisis, the Churchwardens and Vestrymen, among whose names appear those of Alexander Arnaud and Peter Agar, having their rights called seriously in question. In April, at the annual election, a protest was made against their procedure by Messrs. Fenn, Gesin, an 'old inhabitant,' and Akeman, a paper merchant of Chandos Street. Mr. Fenn as a result was forcibly ejected and took proceedings later for assault and battery. Matters continued more or less in abeyance until 1834, when popular feeling again broke loose,

the opposition seizing the Vestry Room. Finally, proceedings were taken to test the legality of the Vestry's rule. The turning point in the dispute was the production of the ancient accounts from 1525, found accidentally, it is said, in the roof of the church, from which it appeared that the election of Wardens prior to 1662 had been with 'the consent wish and agreement of the whole bodie of the Parish,' and judgment was thereupon given against the Select Vestry, whose autocratic rule thus came to an abrupt termination.

The rate-books from 1638 furnish practically a directory of the whole parish, and, although the numbering of the houses did not commence until 1819, the streets are dealt with in the books in such a way, taking down each turning as it comes, and returning on the opposite side to the main street again, that with Horwood's map as a guide it is easy to locate almost the exact site of the house assessed. To dwell for a moment on the rate-books, in the Vestry minutes of June 8, 1701, there is the entry :

'That Joseph Bailhon of Charing Cross Linnen Draper be excused from serving Overseer of the Poor he having produced a certificate under Judge's hand of his convicting a person of robbing his shop for doing whereof he is discharged by an Act of the 10th & 11th of King William¹ from serving all parish and Ward Offices within that parish wherein such Robery is committed.'

These certificates were granted to the person who secured the conviction by the judge or justices passing the sentence, and not merely conferred exemption from parish and ward office but also the right of sale of this privilege. The certificate was enrolled with the Clerk of the Peace at a fee of 1s., and only one transfer was allowed. It could only be used by one person, and once used for the purposes of exemption, the right of transfer ceased. Several of these transferred certificates are recorded, but only in one case on the St. Martin's books is the price mentioned, the amount being given as £10 15s., which was certainly cheap, for to escape the office of Warden cost £20, and in the case of Overseer £12. It may be of interest to give one of these certificates in full, together

¹ (1699) Stat. 10 & 11 Wm. and Mary, cap. 23, ss. 2 and 3.

with a transfer. This is taken from the Vestry minutes of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, and it is believed is the first of such certificates to be quoted. It is not the only one enrolled on these minutes, but is selected as one granted to a Frenchman.

Middx. Ss.—These are to Certifye that at the Sessions of Gaol Delivery of Newgate holden for the County of Middx at Justice Hall in the Old Bailey in the Suburbs of the City of London on Wednesday the Eighth day of Septr. last before us whose Hands are hereunto Set and others his Majesties Justices assigned to Deliver the said Gaol of the prisoners therein being Richard Davis was Convicted of ffelony & Burglary in breaking & Entring the Dwelling House of William Genew Esquire in the night time of the Twenty-Third day of July last at the Pish of St. Paul Cov^t. Garden in the said County of Middx & Stealing from thence Goods & Chattells of the said William Genew of Value And it is hereby Certifyed That the said William Genew was the person who did apprehend & take him the said Richard Davis and did prosecute him so apprehended & taken until he the said Rich^d Davis was Convicted of the s^d ffelony & Burglary And pursuant to an Act of Parliam^t made in the Tenth & Eleventh years of the Reign of the late King William the third Intituled an Act for the better apprehending prosecuting and punishing of ffelons that Commit Burglary Housebreaking or Robbery in Shops Warehouses Coach Houses or Stables or that Steal Horses We the s^d Justices do hereby further Certifye that by Virtue hereof & of the s^d Act of Parliam^t He the said Will^m. Genew for the apprehending to his Conviction afores^d. shall & may be and he is hereby declared to be discharged of and from all & all manner of Pish or Ward Offices within the sd p'ish of St. Paul Cov^t Garden afores^d. Dated this Twentieth day of October in the ffifth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second King of Great Britain & Anno Domini 1731.

Irrotulatur Certificatio predicto
tercio die Julij Anno Domini
millesimo Septingentesimo et
tricesimo secundo Secund-
um formam Statuti in hujus-
modi casu editi et provisi.

HUM: PARSONS MAY.
WM. THOMPSON.

per P. Walter Clericum pacis
Com'. Midd'x.

Know all Men by these p'sents that I the within named Will^m. Genew by Vertue of the power & Liberty to me given in & by the

within mentioned Certificate And for & in Coñs of the Sum of Ten pounds of Lawfull money of Great Britain to me in hand paid by Josiah Slader of the p'ish of St. paul Cov^t. Garden within mentōned the Rec^t whereof I do hereby acknowledge HAVE Granted Bargained Sold Assigned transferred & Set Over and by these p^rsents do Grant Bargain Sell Assign Transfer & Setover unto the said Josiah Slader as well the Certificate within mentōned as also all the right title Int' property benefit Claim & demand of me the said W^m. Genew & all Exemptions priveledges benefit & advantage that may or can be had or made thereof & thereby pursuant to the Statute in that Case made & provided as fully in every respect as I my Self could or ought to have held & Enjoyed the same if this p^rsent Assignm^t. had not been made And I the said W^m. Genew do hereby further Cov^t. & agree that I the said W^m. Genew have not Granted Bargained Sold Assigned Transferred & Set over the said Certificate to any other person w^tsoever or any ways Incumbred the same And also shall not nor will at any time hereafter do commit or suffer any Act matter or thing w^tsoever to hinder the said Josiah Slader from Enjoying & having any right Title Int' use benefit and advantage of the said Certificate pursuant to the said Statute & according to the true intent & meaning of this p^rsent Assignm^t. In witness whereof I the said Wm. Genew have hereunto set my Hand & Seal this seventh day of July 1732.

Sealed and delivered
(being first duly stamp^t)
in the p^rsence of

GEO: SCRIVENER
W^m. LONGBORNE.

W^m. GENEW



These certificates were known later as 'Tyburn Tickets,' and are so termed in an entry against Peter Bordieu's name in 1730. As the same certificate had already been entered against his name in 1721 merely as 'certificate,' it is probable that the term 'Tyburn Ticket' originated somewhere between those dates. Among those producing these certificates are :

- 1716. Rene Auvache, Orange Street, Winemerchant.
- 1721. Peter Bordieu, Suffolk Street, Gentleman.
George Happy,¹ Black Prince, Bedfordbury, Tailor.
- 1722. Louis Bonnet, Warwick Street, Wineman.

¹ Possibly L'Heureux.

Tyburn tickets were finally abolished in 1825,¹ so far as exemption from service on juries was concerned. It was probably unnecessary by that time to repeal the other privileges which they conferred.

To return to the Church, viewing it from Pall Mall East, where perhaps the finest view of the building is to be obtained, the steeple with its clock stands out prominently, and it may add some pleasure to that view to know that the clock was made by John Le Roux, the Huguenot clockmaker of Charing Cross. At the Vestry meeting held July 28, 1758, it was reported that Messrs. Le Roux, Smith, and Grignion considered the old clock not worth repairing, and the Committee advised that a new one should be made at a cost of £150, exclusive of the materials of the old clock. Smith was very probably the maker of the Westminster turret clock. Grignion was the maker of the clock of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, pictured by Hogarth, and burnt in the fire which destroyed that Church. The contract was given to John Le Roux. The payment of the £150 is mentioned in Francis Rybot's accounts, rendered by him as Senior Warden, and perhaps the fact of Le Roux being a Huguenot, as well as a parishioner and pewholder, largely assisted in his securing the work. The dial plate on the works carries the name 'John Le Roux & Son, Charing Cross, London, M.D.C.C.L.I.X.,' and is engraved in a curious manner, the hours being four only, viz., I, II, III, IIII, placed at the quarters on the dial. The marking in this way was no doubt due to the 'Ting-Tang' chime, similar to that of St. James's, Piccadilly, to-day, and served to show which quarter was being struck. The clock is still wound up daily, although various improvements have been made in the original works of Le Roux. It is spoken of by Messrs. Thwaites, whose firm made the clock at the Horse Guards, and who have recently renovated this one, as of extremely solid construction and unusual design. The clock itself is placed on the belfry, actually some forty feet below the face in the steeple, the hour circles of which form part of the tower, the numerals being cut in the solid stone, and the centre of the four dials fitted with copper sections. The hands are of planished copper gilt, the

¹ Stat. 6 Geo. IV. cap. 50, sect. 52.

minute hand being four feet six inches in length, and are driven by weights of about seventeen to twenty hundred-weight.¹ To those who do not mind the climb up a circular staircase with steps of about one foot wide, the visit to the belfry with its arrangements for the playing of the hymn tunes on the bells, the ropes being so placed that they can be rung by one person, well repays the trouble.

In the church itself interest centres in the old crypt, for there are to be found many of the old memorials originally in the previous building. As these are fairly numerous, a list is given of them by way of appendix.

The churchyard, favoured by the Thames watermen as their final resting-place, is noticeable as standing high above the road, the result of overburial in the past. It was closed as a graveyard as the result of a dispute between the parish and the vicar in 1793 over the payment of poor-rate, and by Act of Parliament a new burial ground was provided in Camden Town, which was in its turn closed in 1853.

A burial ground north of the King's Mews, the grant of James I, was attached to the church. In the beginning it was intended only for those of 'the meaner sort,' but as the old churchyard became full the accounts show that the majority of the burials took place in this particular ground. Among them may be mentioned the second wife of Sir Christopher Wren, and one of his children, Charlotte. The names of Huguenot families are of constant occurrence and a list of these will be given later. By way of example, on Mr. Rybot's accounts appear the following :

1757.	May	26.	John Krüger,
	July	9.	Mary Minnet,
	Sept.	16.	Peter Mussard,
		26.	Widow Sarah Stehelin,
	Decr.	13.	John Minnitt,
1758.	Jany.	26.	Peter Scholes,
		30.	Henry Wager,
	Feby.	28.	César Lemaitre,
	"	"	Elizabeth Portall,
	April	21.	Elizabeth Riebau,

¹ Information by Messrs. Thwaites.

- 1753, Sept. 20. Augustus Desvignolles.
 30. Lewis Peter Boitard (the Engraver),
 Octr. 31. Mary Haveland,
 Decr. 13. Isaac Le Sturgeon (Minister of Les Grecs),
 1759. April 29. Lewis Lacoutre.

The ultimate destination of most of these additional burial grounds seems to have been their utilisation for the site of the parish workhouse, and this ground shared the same fate.

A workhouse of some kind was erected on part of this burial ground at an early date, for in 1683 there is a Vestry minute that, owing to its dilapidated condition and expense, it was given up and the premises let to a Ralph Mayer, presumably on building lease.

The necessity for the provision of workhouses evidently became more acute as London grew, and, despite former experiences, it was decided to build another. In November 1724 a notice appeared in the Press that those parishes which have built workhouses find them so useful that other parishes are imitating their example, particularly in the case of St. Martin's, which has agreed with a builder for the work. The agreement was signed on November 28, and the cost of the building was fixed at £650. This workhouse, which only occupied a small portion to the north of the burial ground adjoining Hemmings Row, was in October 1769 reported to be in a ruinous condition, and an Act of Parliament was obtained for its rebuilding and to enable the necessary cost to be raised by loan. As shown by Horwood, the new building absorbed the whole of the old burial ground. The cost of the new building was £4000, and in view of the heavy rate this would have entailed it was decided to raise the amount by annuities. The list of the annuities granted shows that £2200 was received in June 1770, and of this amount the names of Francis Rybot and Elizabeth his wife, the parents of the churchwarden, appear as contributors of £400 each. Francis Rybot, then aged sixty-four, and his wife, aged forty-three, were granted annuities of £32 each. The former's annuity ceased at midsummer 1776, Mrs. Rybot's being still paid in 1779, when the records stop. Among other contributors were :

1770. Decr.	Margaret Vezin of Castle Street, purchasing an annuity of £16 on the life of William Ninier, living opposite Charlotte Chapel, Rathbone Place, St Pancras	£ 200
1771. July.	Andrew Grenier de Barmont of Holliwell Row in the Parish of St. Leonards, Shoreditch, Clerk, aged 53 years, £50 p.a.	625
1772. June.	Mary Vardon of Congleton, Co. Chester, Spinster, aged 45 years, £20 p.a.	250
„ Decr.	Mary Suidre, St. Anns, Soho, Spinster, aged 50 years, £16 p.a.	200
1773. March.	Mary Minier, Castle Street, St. Martins in the fields, aged 50 years, £16 p.a.	200
„	Francis Vezin, Castle Street, St. Martins in the fields, annuity of £24 on the life of Margaret Vezin, his wife aged 60	300
1774. August.	Mary Minier, a further annuity of £30	350

It is thus seen that of the £4000 required by the parish close upon three-fourths of the amount, £2875 to be exact, was provided by the French refugee families, a striking testimony to their industry and growing wealth. The work-house was finally pulled down in 1865 to make room for the extension of the National Gallery, which thus occupies one of the spots where many of our Huguenot ancestors were buried.

The transfer of the Court from the Tower to Whitehall gradually converted St. Martin's into the residential quarter it became. As late as the seventeenth century the conditions prevailing here were rural. Facing the church on the border of the open country stood a row of five houses, among them the residence of Sir Theodore Turquet de Mayerne. This royal physician served in turn no less than four kings, Henri Quatre, James I, Charles I, and Charles II. He was born at Geneva in 1573 and was named Theodore after his godfather, the noted Beza. His religion standing in the way of his advancement in France, he came to England on the invitation of James I. He was one of the earliest practitioners to apply

chemistry in the preparation and compounding of medicines, and applied that knowledge to the improvement of the arts of painting and cookery, in both of which he was no mean proficient. His experiments in this direction led to the perfection of the colouring in Petitot's enamels, and it was through his introduction that the artist gained the patronage of Charles I. The standard cookery book of the period was the work of this remarkable medico, who under the title of 'Archimagirus Anglo-Gallicus' conveys in a delicate way his appreciation of their many hospitalities by dedicating his *chef-d'œuvre*—a pie—to the City of London. His skill and celebrity enabled him not only to acquire a large fortune but the privilege of living unmolested during the troublous times of the Civil Wars. He died at the ripe old age of eighty-two in Chelsea, whither he had retired. His death he diagnosed himself as caused through drinking bad wine with a convivial party in the Strand. 'Good wine,' he used to say, 'is slow poison; I have drunk it all my lifetime, and it has not killed me yet, but bad wine is sudden death.'

As neighbours he had Daniel Mytens, the artist, and Sir James Finet, the Assistant Master of Ceremonies, whose work on the reception and order of precedence of Foreign Ambassadors in England was much valued for many years after its publication in the settlement of questions of etiquette.

In the next century, upon this same spot, no longer the border of open country but the centre of a fashionable district, was The Barn Tavern, a famous resort of chess-players. Among its frequenters was the Chevalier Desseasau, an eccentric character, who attracted a good deal of attention in the early part of George III's reign. Of French extraction, he was born in Prussia, and held a commission in the Prussian army. Consequent on the supposed fatal result of a duel with a brother officer, he fled to this country, where he passed the remainder of his days. He was acquainted with Foote, Goldsmith, and Johnson, and it is said that there was no bookseller of any note to whom he was not well known. In his later years he fell upon evil times, and was confined in the Fleet Prison, and it is pleasant to read of this old Huguenot that, such was the confidence placed in his honour, he was

suffered to go where he pleased. He died in February 1775, aged seventy, and was buried in St. Bride's Churchyard.

Duke's Court adjoining was a high-class residential quarter. Among the names appearing on the rate-books as living here are those of de Charmes, Ord, Rossier, and Beard. In 1711 the proprietor of a boarding-school in this Court inserts a notice in the press protesting against some anonymous statement published that he claims to teach French by correspondence in six months. The name is not given, so that whether Andrew Legrange, the only French name appearing in the Court on the rate-books for that year, was the advertiser must be an open question, although in 1718 there is in this Court a Francis Midon, schoolmaster, who appears on the list of nominations for Overseer, and may possibly have been the advertiser. In a Court, unnamed and contiguous to Duke's Court, is a Mr. Delpush, and a reference to the names given in Marylebone occasions a surmise whether he was not Mr. de la Place, who may have been running a branch establishment here.

Just above the church stood the 'Porto Bello' Inn, whose sign was the work of Peter Monamy, the famous marine artist (1670-1749), an imitator of Van der Velde. The Painter Stainers Company possess a large sea-scape of his, the gift of the artist in 1726. Similar to other artists of the day, he was a coach-painter, and decorated a coach for the unfortunate Admiral Byng. Monamy was born in Jersey, and as an artist he never seems to have accumulated much of this world's wealth, for he died in poverty in February 1749.

London in its making is full of interest, and it is curious how difficult it would be to name any one street in this particular district as more important than another. Taking St. Martin's Lane, as the one named from the Church, first, the street is of interest from its early pavement. The paving of streets and footpaths in the early part of the eighteenth century was of such rare occurrence as to call for special attention. The address of John de Baufré, the watchmaker, is given in the rate-books of 1728 as 'On the Paved stones in St. Martin's Lane,' and in March 1736 a dog is advertised in the newspapers as 'Lost from Mr. Whimprie's On the Pavement in St. Martin's Lane.' No. 96 in the Lane, the house

of Dr. Misaubin, has been made notable by Hogarth, who gives its interior in his *Marriage à la Mode*. Roubillac, after commencing work in Peter's Court, occupied No. 104. The foremost sculptor of his day, he would have been able to afford himself the luxury of removal into this mansion.

The court called Hop Gardens opposite derived its name from the cultivation of hops instituted here by Sir Hugh Platt, who also maintained gardens at Bethnal Green for the same purpose. Sir Hugh was the third son of Richard Platt, a London brewer of Flemish descent. By Strype's time the Hop Gardens had become stables, and, although the Huguenots do not seem to have adopted the trade of horse-dealing, there were certainly several tenants here with French names. In 1686 to 1688 there is the name of Gabriel Guizand, and in 1700 to 1710 that of Peter Marrander.

Higher up, returning to the other side once again, was the coffee-house established in 1692 by Thomas Slaughter. It stood three doors from Newport Street, and was pulled down in 1843 to make the opening into Leicester Square. Old Slaughter's, as it was called to distinguish it from Young Slaughter's, a rival house higher up the lane, was a great rendezvous for artists, and incidentally those jovial clubs of which Hogarth in his bachelor days was a leading spirit. At these gatherings might have been seen Roubillac, and Dr. Mounsey, the physician of Chelsea Hospital. Among other stories of the old house it is related that Pierre Desmaizeau, the historian, was one day drinking coffee, when two strangers began some argument on literary subjects. The one in the wrong endeavoured to shout down his opponent, who finally closed the discussion by getting up and going away. The other one then turned to Desmaizeau and asked 'if he hadn't mauled his antagonist finely,' to which he received the cutting reply, 'Yes, Sir, that you have, and if ever I fight the Philistines, I should like to make use of your jaw-bone.'

Next door to Old Slaughter's was the house of Monsieur Muilmont, the dancing master, for whom a Benefit was advertised at Drury Lane Theatre on April 22, 1742, the programme including *The Merchant of Venice*, with dancing

by Mr. Muilmont, etc., and singing by Mr. Beard. James Beard was the noted tenor of his day. He gained his reputation by the singing of Galliard's hunting song, 'With Early Morn.' He was a neighbour of Muilmont, his house being a little higher up at the corner of Newport Street. The translation into English of French names at this period was so common, that one can perhaps be forgiven for suggesting that the name Beard represents one of the St. Barbe family. Muilmont's house is assessed in 1745 at £45, and was evidently one of the largest in the Lane, for Misaubin's mansion is only assessed at £48, Roubillac's at £32, and Thomas Harache's at £24.

Coachmakers in the Lane were represented by Sell of 'The Golden Boy.' The family of L'Orsell is also to be found on the rate-books, of which this Sell was probably a member. By way of further example of the transition period of Huguenot family names this particular family furnish the interesting one of Goldsaddle, whose name is to be found in the rate-books of the same date. The silk trade was represented by Francis Toulouse, the king's embroiderer. He was evidently the son of Stephen Toulouse, whose name appears in the 1709 rate-books as assessed for a house in New Street, Covent Garden, the name of Francis appearing in the rate-books of 1713 and 1714 at the same address. He appears later to have removed into the Lane, and on his nomination as Overseer in 1716 he is excused as 'under Royal Patronage.'

With rather an unusual combination of occupation Mr. Grillet, enameller and vendor of glass-ware, advertises in 1697 from 'The Castle over against The Three Golden Balls in St. Martin's Lane.' Bearing in mind the well-known silversmith of a later date, Peze Pilleau of Chandos Street, it is somewhat curious to find a Mr. Pilleau, French goldsmith, of St. Martin's Lane, announcing in the same year that he fixes artificial teeth so that one may chew with them, a forerunner of the dental practitioners so common later in this street. The advertisement suggests that in those days false teeth were usually little more than ornamental.

Taking the bye-ways of the old Lane to the west, in St. Martin's Court Francis Noble kept one of the earliest known

circulating libraries. Lower down in Charles Court, the Castle Street Church, as it was called, was, like that of Leicester Fields Church, provided by the Crown. It was here in 1699 that the Hungerford Market Assembly transferred its church originally started in the Market House. For some reason the church is assessed to rates at £12, neither the Spring Gardens nor the Leicester Fields churches paying rates at that date. The latter are entered up as 'French Church,' Castle Street Church being entered as 'French Chappell,' so that it is possible that it was not officially recognised and treated as a chapel then assessable to rates. The building as shown by Horwood really stands in Peter's Court, with an entrance from Charles Court, Castle Street, or Charing Cross Road as it is now. Its history is interesting, for it was the first Swiss church in London.

It is but fitting that, among others foremost in their professions, we should find such a man as John de Fonvive, the editor and proprietor of *The Postman*, a newspaper which he founded in 1695, and which ran successfully for a matter of fifty years. With correspondents in all the principal towns of Europe as well as England, the single sheet of two pages formed one of the most interesting papers of its day. Glancing through some of its issues we may note the prominence given to French items of news. Occasionally special prominence is given to matters of Huguenot interest, as for example on July 16, 1696 :

'Letters from Montpellier say that Henry Pordal was broke alive upon the Wheel in that place on the 24th June, only for having made a Public Profession of the Protestant Religion and exhorted them to do the like.'

Again, under London, dated January 26, 1696, among items of Court and other news :

'A French Minister preached in one of the French Churches in Soho his Thanksgiving Sermon for his Deliverance from the Spanish Inquisition.'

In 1703 de Fonvive is described in an advertisement as of 'The White Perriwig,' in Leicester Fields, but in 1710 he is

assessed at 25s. for a house in Castle Street, and in this house he lived until his death in 1737.

The advertisements of the period furnish us with many of the places where Frenchmen were to be found. The *London Journal* of October 21, 1721, announces that Cornaro's drops are on sale at Mr. Rocavrol's, Bookseller at the corner of St. Peter's Court. The same year Michael Hennikin advertises his stock at his print and toyshop in St. Martin's Lane. The following advertisement is worth reproduction as a specimen of the announcements made. It appeared in *The Postman* of April 25, 1711 :

' Isaac Grenier, Cutler, having been oblig'd for his Health to Remove to Marybone gives notice thereof that such as may have occasion to imploy him may direct to him at Marybone aforesaid or to Mr. Coutanson, Barber, in St. Martins Lane at The Cross-Keys, and their Business shall be effectually performed.'

In Peter's Court the meeting-house of the Quakers, now to be found on the opposite side of the old Lane, which was opened here in 1776, represents the earlier meetings of Worcester House, Strand, that of the Savoy, and New Palace Yard. The last was transferred to Pall Mall, and then again on the objection of James II to Little Almonry, under the shadow of the Abbey itself, a curious place to find non-conformity. For the erection of the 'Chapel' in this Court, among other buildings, the studio of Roubillac was pulled down. The meeting-house was the scene of many interesting incidents, among them being the attendance of Paul Condignon on his visit to this country. Paul Condignon was one of the leaders of the Quaker colony at Congenies, direct descendants of the 'Prophets,' the cause of so much trouble to the early Huguenots after 1685. With a view to the publication of his religious works he had set out for Holland, and there he first heard of the English Quakers. His visit here could not have been of a very social nature, for it is reported that only one of the 'Friends' could speak French !

Condignon, however, seems to have retained very pleasant memories of his reception, for sixteen years later the 'Meeting' was again the recipient of a letter borne by another of their

leaders, Jean de Marsillac, a man of high Huguenot descent. The letter he brought was the outcome of a pretty little incident, illustrative of the character of the Quakers. A Dr. Fox, living at Fowey in Cornwall, was a partner in a shipping firm, which on the outbreak of war with France, although he objected to its being done, fitted out its ships as privateers, and was fortunate enough to secure two valuable French merchantmen. His share of this booty Dr. Fox laid aside, and at the close of the war sent his son to Paris to advertise for the owners of the merchantmen, with a view to the restoration as far as lay in his power of their losses. The advertisement produced from Congenies a letter signed by five men, protesting against the Camisard War as an 'abominable rebellion against the Divine Will,' and a reply was sent asking for particulars as to the Society of Friends existing there. No reply was received until the arrival of Jean de Marsillac with this letter. This reply also referred to the kindness shown to Condignon on his visit to London, and appealed for their assistance in the restoration from the low condition into which they had fallen, and which the bearer had materially relieved. De Marsillac had been brought up to the army, but in 1783, through reading Barclay's *Apologia*, became a convert, threw up his commission, and joined the colony at Congenies.

The name of the Court will, however, rather be remembered from its connexion with the foundation of the Royal Academy. The School of Art, founded here in 1739, is generally considered as the origin of that famous Institution, but as its founder, George Michael Moser, is more particularly connected with the St. Anne's district, further reference to him must be deferred.

And now, having reached once again the point from which this survey began, it is best to conclude. The ground covered is but a very small part of the district forming what may be called the 'Huguenot Soho' (*i.e.* the area under the influence of the Huguenot churches of Soho), but this account will perhaps help to show the social position of the early Huguenot families and, so far as this particular district is concerned, the prominent part they took in local affairs.

APPENDIX.

List of the monuments of the old church now preserved
in the crypt :

Sir Theodore Mayerne	1655	William Portal	1815
Henry Vicary	1796	Henry Rymer	1784
John Vilet	1729	William Lyle	1812
Mary Molteno	1810	Ann Ramus	1777
Mary Izard	1822	Thomas Oliver	1789
John Perrot	1821	Andries Baron	1777
M. Chabron	1829	Isaac Warner	1813
Martha Duvall	1821	Thomas Copin	1764
Daniel Quarington	1798	Mary Dimond	1798
Charles Adlard	1825	Walter Vinay	1795
Capt. David Lyon	1781	Jane Mary Lyle	1778
Alexander Diack	1809	John Corderoy	1827

The Family of Rebotier.

By W. H. WARD, F.S.A.

IN the heart of the rugged and tumbled ridges of the Cévennes stands the little town of St. Jean—now known as St. Jean-du-Gard, but formerly as St. Jean-du-Gardonnenque. The Gardonnenque is the roughly triangular region drained by several streams bearing the name of Gardon, which finally unite sixteen miles north-west of Nîmes to form the river Gard. It is a land of drought, interrupted by brief but torrential rains. Its lower portion lies in the plains of Languedoc, where its orchards and olive-yards, interspersed with poplars, bask in Mediterranean sunshine. The upper part consists of a tangle of mountains, whose denuded summits and heath-covered sides, though bathed in the same clear light, are more constantly swept by bitter winds, and yield a livelihood to the hardy inhabitants only at the price of incessant toil.

Impetuous streams hurry through narrow strips of meadow and mulberry plantation at the foot of slopes laboriously terraced for the cultivation of the sweet chestnut, or clothed in groves of ilex. In such a valley, noted for its romantic beauty, and on the left bank of the Gardon de St. Jean, a tributary of the Gardon d'Anduze, stands St. Jean, a *chef lieu de canton* counting upwards of 3000 inhabitants, and busy with mineral workings and spinning and hosiery industries. Apart from its scenery, its attractions to the tourist are confined to the scanty remains of a Romanesque church, a twelfth-century clock-tower soaring above the older quarter of the Bourgade, a picturesque bridge of six ancient arches, and the shady alleys of horse-chestnuts in the Promenade du Temple.

Such is the home of the Rebotier family, whose not wholly uneventful annals we are met to consider with special reference to the career of Elie Rebotier, the first of its members to settle

in England, and the writer of the remarkable narrative to be communicated.

There is no need to insist on the ardent spirit of revolt against orthodox Catholicism, which for centuries inspired the mountaineers of the Cévennes. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries they were Albigenses ; from the thirteenth to the sixteenth they followed the teaching of Peter Waldo ; and in the seventeenth—to use Elie's words—'Calvin had so well fixed his doctrines in that mountainous country that the Roman Catholics had scarce any place ; but a closet in the priest's house was his church and his clerk his congregation.' And Basville, reporting to the Royal Government thirteen years after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, said of them : 'It is only out of fear of chastisement that the newly converted behave themselves ; the true religion has made no progress in their hearts.' Released after a hundred years from proscription, Protestantism rapidly reasserted itself, and in the mountainous districts the Catholics are to-day outnumbered by members of the Reformed Churches.

The Rebotier family—to quote Elie once more—'was so zealously affected to the Reformation that one of them was always promoted to the dignity of the sacred priesthood,' a term which, when himself a priest in Anglican orders, he extends to the Protestant ministry of France. For the general history of the family I am indebted to researches undertaken by Mr. Edward Alexander Fry, who, like myself, is one of their English descendants. Of particular importance among the materials he collected are the communications made in 1883 by M. E. Prouzet, secretary to the Mairie of St. Jean, who was at infinite pains to reconstruct the Rebotier pedigree from the municipal and notarial archives, and to gather other local information about them. He was not able, however, to trace them further back than Guillaume Rebotier, from whose marriage in 1559 to Françoise Drullons spring all the known branches of the family.

Though they were apparently landed proprietors at that time, and a document of the reign of Francis I referring to certain feudal rights held by them exists, the first clear evidence of their being reckoned among the ranks of the *noblesse* is

that Pierre, grandson of Guillaume, was Seigneur de Sueilhes. The well-preserved but architecturally unimpressive château of Sueilhes is perched among the mountains near St. Jean, but not visible from the town. Arms are carved over its entrance, but they are not those of Rebotier. These are azure, a tower or castle argent, with a ducal crown as crest, dolphins as supporters, and the motto 'Toujours ferme,' for which some of the later Rebotiers substituted 'Calme sous l'orage.' At what period or for what services these arms were granted is unknown, but a deed signed in 1708 by M. de Bernage, Intendant of Languedoc, confirmed the Rebotiers in their *droits de noblesse*, with the title of *Écuyer*.

Their social position in the district is indicated by their intermarriage with the first local families, such as the Vignoles, Lords of St. Jean, and the Caladons, Lords of Thialet. But the bigwigs of the Gardonnenque might be very small fry in the kingdom of France, and their names and titles do not figure in the standard registers of nobility and heraldry.

The exercise of judicial functions by some Rebotiers in the seventeenth century may suggest *noblesse de robe*, but throughout the eighteenth they carried on the traditions of *noblesse d'épée*. Charles de Sueilhes de Caladon was aide-de-camp to the Maréchal de Coigny. A Rebotier took service under Philip V of Spain, and two others under the King of Sardinia. These—after having at one time thought of embarking to serve in the American War of Independence—fought in the armies of the French Republic.

At the same time it was, as we have seen, long the tradition that one son should enter the ministry, and by the close of the seventeenth century, if not earlier, members of the family did not disdain to engage in trade, for Elie expressly states that one of his brothers was 'bred up to business,' and appears to imply that his father was a merchant as well. This naturally facilitated their escape from France and their establishment abroad.

The family was extremely numerous, and its various branches possessed large estates, the names of which they assumed while dropping their own. Among these, besides Sueilhes, were the *seigneuries* de Lascours, du Pouget, de

Montuzonques, de Longueuzière, and de la Taule. With the exception of the estate of La Taule, all these properties had—forty years ago—passed out of the hands of their descendants. At that time representatives of the elder branch of Sueilhes Caladon were settled in Paris, and titled members of the younger branch, to which the English Rebotiers belonged, were still to be found at St. Jean as late as 1825. In the legitimate line it has, however, long been extinct in France, and the large number of persons bearing the name in the commune of St. Jean at the close of the nineteenth century appear to have been all descended from a natural son of an Elie Rebotier, a nephew of the emigrant. They were—and doubtless still are—of very various social standing: large landowners, farmers, and peasant proprietors.

Our main interest is with the refugees of the early eighteenth century. Charles Rebotier, born in 1644, great-grandson of Guillaume mentioned above, younger brother of Pierre, Seigneur de Sueilhes, and himself Seigneur de Longueuzière, married Marguerite de Pérédez in 1665. They had at least ten children, most of whom, according to Elie, 'lived to be settled in the world by suitable marriages.' Elie himself—or Elias, as he calls himself and we may henceforth call him—was the fourth or fifth child, and was born on or shortly before August 3, 1679. This is the date of his baptism in the register of St. Jean, though he himself—probably in error—puts his birth exactly a year earlier.

His narrative relates the incidents of his escape from France at the age of twenty-one, his sojourn in Switzerland, Germany, and the West Indies, and his establishment in England, where he took orders, became rector of Axbridge, and died. Though twice married, he left no other surviving posterity than a daughter, Katharine, wife of John Speed of Shepton Mallet, who had two sons, John and Thomas, and a daughter Elizabeth, who married Dr. Froud of Croscombe, and had a son, John Speed Froud. The further history of this branch has not been traced.

Before pursuing the career of Elias in detail, it will be convenient to sketch the fortunes of the remainder of the family. His uncle, Jacques Rebotier, pastor at Ste. Croix-de-

Barre, emigrated at the Revocation and ministered to the French refugees at Schwabach, in the principality of Anspach in Bavaria, where Elias joined him, as did also Elias's father, with a son—doubtless Charles, two years older than Elias. The father, at least, remained at Schwabach some years, but father and son died at Berlin in 1732 and 1745 respectively. The younger Charles's daughters married French refugees there, but no descendants of his have been traced in the male line.

Elias's mother, who was something of an invalid and unable to face the dangers and privations of a secret flight, remained in France, as did her daughters and two of her sons. One of them, Jacques, seems to have had no children, while the eldest, Pérédez, was the father of that Elie who left the lands and title of La Taule to an illegitimate son, the ancestor of the present French Rebotiers. Charles, a son of this Elie, visited his relations in England about 1757, and passed into America, where he is believed to have fallen in the Canadian wars.

David, the youngest brother of our Elias, was born in 1694. A deed of release by his creditors dated April 13, 1719, proves that he was then resident in the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields and had been long enough in England to get into financial difficulties and out of them again. He was naturalised on March 24, 1726-7, and in the Act is described as 'merchant, of London.' He appears to have settled at Stoke Newington, then a country village and a favourite resort of French refugees. On April 25, 1752, he purchased the manor and estate of Greensted, near Ongar in Essex, from the Cleeve family, by whose descendants, the Budworths, it was bought back, after various changes of ownership, in 1837.

Greensted Hall seems to have been originally an irregular Elizabethan manor-house, with picturesque gables and chimneys, part of which are still visible at the rear of the eastern block added between 1695 and 1698 by Alexander Cleeve, pewterer, of London. This block, according to Captain Budworth's statement to Mr. E. A. Fry in 1883, was built of lath and plaster, though in contemporary prints and water-colours it has the appearance of stone. It had a regular

classical seven-window front, with a central pediment, which in 1875 Captain Budworth rebuilt, *tant bien que mal*, in brick, prolonging it at the same time and removing the porch to the north front. It is approached from Ongar by a broad avenue some three-quarters of a mile long. In a parlour—previously the entrance hall—is a fine Jacobean chimney-piece belonging to the earlier building. The present entrance hall—formerly the great hall of the old manor-house—retains its large open fireplace.

David Rebotier, who died in 1769, and his wife Mary Magdalene, who had died three years before him, were buried in Greensted churchyard, under a slab on which their names and ages are recorded. This lies to the north side of the church, one of the most curious in England. The nave, which probably dates from the early years of the eleventh century, and was used as a resting-place for the body of St. Edmund, king and martyr, on its return journey from London to Bury, is constructed of halved trunks of oak set up endwise with the flat side inwards.

By his will, proved in April 1769, David Rebotier directed that the estate should be sold and the proceeds divided, unless his son Charles or his daughter Esther should wish to buy it in at a price specified. They did not exercise this option, and sold it on December 14, 1771, to John Redman of Mile End.

David and Mary Magdalene Rebotier of Greensted—the wife's maiden name has not been traced—had at least five children, of whom one was a son. Their daughter Susanna married William Ward of Stannington Bridge, Northumberland, and Staple Inn, London, and by him had twelve children. She died in 1812 at the Parsonage, Iver, Bucks, where she had lived for some years with her son Edward, my grandfather, the only one of her children of whom there are descendants living. Jane, a younger daughter of David, met with a tragic end in the manner related by the *Gentleman's Magazine* of November 1756: 'Saturday 27th a fire broke out at No. 1 in Staple's Inn, Holborn, which entirely consumed the chambers of Mr. Ward, Mr. Brooke, Mr. Sharpe, and Mr. Sackville. It was with the utmost difficulty that Mr. Sackville, Mr. Ward, Mrs. Ward, and several others saved their lives; but Mrs.

Ward's sister (a young lady who came out of the country upon a visit but the night before), two of Mr. Ward's children and their nurse, perished in the flames.'

David's son Charles, born in 1726, carried on the business of exchange broker. He married on February 17, 1749, Magdalene Guinand, and they resided at Stoke Newington, where at the parish church of St. Mary there are Rebotier and Guinand vaults, and the registers contain many entries of the baptisms, marriages, and burials of members of the two families. Though they had at least five sons and five daughters, their name became extinct in England within a hundred years of their marriage.

None of the sons married. The two eldest were twins: David, who is supposed to have been murdered by natives at the Cape while on shore for a few hours from his vessel, and Charles James, who died at home in 1797. The third son, Henry, died at Madras in 1779, where he had become bankrupt. The fourth, Anthony Richard, Lieut. R.N., the last male to bear the name of Rebotier in England, was killed on board H.M.S. *Jason* off the coast of Brittany by a random shot fired after an engagement with the French frigate *La Seine* as he was carrying the news of victory to Captain Stirling, commanding the squadron. He wore a carnelian seal with the family arms, part of which was destroyed by the shot. The fifth son, Elias, died in infancy.

Of their sisters, Jane Elizabeth married John Franklin and left three daughters who died single, while Susanna Elizabeth who married the Rev. Henry Hesketh Gower, Elizabeth who married James Tyers, and Catherine Susanna who married Henry Sampson Fry, are represented by many living descendants. Their unmarried sister, Mary Esther, the last who bore the name of Rebotier in England, died at Colchester in 1839.

We may now return to Elias. His career has been set down in so entertaining a manner by his own pen that it is superfluous to enlarge upon it beyond a few words upon the character of the narrative and of its author.

The autobiography may have been composed at any period between his second marriage in 1729 and his death in 1765,

but from the absence of any reference to events subsequent to the former date it may be inferred that it was written not long after it. It is slightly peculiar in form, beginning with some prefatory remarks in which the writer speaks of himself in the third person, but quickly passes to the first, which he then uses to the end. At frequent intervals he embodies letters which purport to have been written at crises in his affairs. But it is difficult to believe that in the course of adventurous journeys he can have kept copies of lengthy epistles, and one is tempted to class them with the speeches put by Thucydides in his 'History' and Dr. Johnson in the 'Parliament of Liliput' into the mouths of personages as suitable ones for the several occasions. Be this as it may, Rebotier's letters are not merely relevant but sometimes essential to the story. Moreover, they are in English, whereas the alleged originals would have been in French. His command of English throughout is remarkable. There is not a trace of a Gallicism in his writing, and the style is clear, flowing, vivid, and makes agreeable reading, while his transparent honesty and modesty enlist the sympathies of the reader.

We gain, indeed, from the perusal the impression of a sterling and amiable character. Elias was a good and affectionate son, husband, and father. His sincere piety was based upon convictions which at an early age enabled him to resist the influence of a worthy, learned, and persuasive Jesuit. He had the courage to abandon his home and all his worldly prospects and to face great danger and privation to reach conditions in which he could live without offending his conscience. Yet he had nothing of the fanatic, and, while firm on points which were to him essentials, he had the breadth of mind to accept and even welcome Catholic practices and modes of worship abhorrent to the strict Calvinist. He was so ardent in the pursuit of learning as at times to endanger his health by over-study, and he was an observant traveller. He admits with the utmost candour the virtues of opponents and of those who had injured him, and speaks with affectionate gratitude of his benefactors. Indeed, if allowance is not made for the accepted phraseology of his day, his references to his patron, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, might appear a trifle

fulsome. Finally, it is a remarkable testimony to his character that his memory should have been revered sixty years after his death in the parish in which he ministered so long.

Elias Rebotier's adventures were not quite at an end when he reached the haven of the Rectory of Axbridge, and of his second marriage. For it was recorded of him in 1846 by Mr. Peter Fry of Axbridge (a connexion of his wife, Elizabeth Chorley, but not related to his brother David's descendants of that name), that 'Mr. Rebotier was once travelling pillion with his wife on the Mendips when he was robbed and gave up his money. From humane feelings he refused to prosecute the robbers. The same afterwards met a gentleman who refused to give up his money and was shot by them. Mr. Rebotier was then convinced and confessed that he had done wrong.' The story is characteristic of him in the humanity and candour it reveals.

His life is thus recorded on a marble tablet near the west end of Axbridge Church :

* 'Near this place
In the hope of a blessed resurrection
lye the remains of the late Rev. Elias Rebotier
who was Rector of this Parish 45 years
dying the 19th of Dec. 1765
aged 88 years.

He was born at St. John de Gardonnenque in the Cévennes in the Province of Languedoc & at the Great Persecution of the Protestants in France fled from that place & left his family, fortune, & friends to seek after the most pure & reformed Religion of the Church of England. He followed his studies for some time in Geneva, Holland and Germany, and after enduring many hardships and vicissitudes of fortune, he came to England, where he was by that great & good prelate George Hooper Lord Bishop of Bath & Wells taken into his Palace as chaplain & promoted to many favors in the Church by his Lordship.

Here also lie the remains of
Elizabeth the wife of the said Elias Rebotier
who died the 20th of Feb. 1776 aged 74 years.'

This inscription contains two slight inaccuracies. Elias

cannot have been more than eighty-seven, and probably was not more than eighty-six, at his death, and his stay both at Geneva and in Holland was too short to allow him to study there.

In 1755 he gave £100 to Queen Anne's Bounty for the augmentation of the living of Fitzhead, and by his will left an estate at Badgworth, which had been bequeathed by his sister-in-law, Mrs. Dunster, *née* Chorley, to the poor of Axbridge. Mr. E. A. Fry ascertained on the spot in 1883 that it yielded some £70 per annum, which was still distributed every 23rd of December to 'decayed housekeepers' or persons reduced in circumstances, each receiving from £2 to £2 10s.

The narrative which follows is reproduced from a MS. copy found in my house and coming I know not whence. It is written on paper bearing the watermark date of 1824. Several other MS. copies are in the possession of the descendants of David Rebotier, differing in nothing but unimportant copyist's slips. But all efforts to trace the whereabouts of the original have failed. About 1846 Mr. Peter Fry, of Axbridge, stated that it was then in the possession of his brother, the Rev. Thomas Fry of Westgate Street, Bath. But the latter's daughter, Mrs. Bagshaw, when visited by Mr. E. A. Fry in the 'eighties, had lost sight of it.

Samuel Smiles summarised the contents in the appendix to his *Huguenots in England and Ireland* (1889), and the narrative was printed with some slight omissions under the editorship of Mr. E. A. Fry in the *Proceedings of the Somerset Archæological and Natural History Society*, vol. xl., 1894.

Elias Rebotier was born in France the 3rd day of August 1678 in a place called St. John de Gardonnenque in the Cevennes. Charles Rebotier his Father had a numerous family who lived to be settled in the world by suitable marriages; Elias the fourth son was from his infancy designed for the service of the Church, though the persecutions were then very grievous in those parts.

The Cevennes were always famous for zealous protestants. Calvin had so well fixed his doctrine in that mountainous country, that the Roman Catholics had scarce any place; but a Closet in the Priest's House was his Church, and his Clerk his congregation. The family of the Rebotiers in particular was so zealously affected

to the Reformation that one of them was always promoted to the dignity of the sacred Priesthood.

The lot fell upon me in these troublesome times, and I was accordingly educated in the Schools with a promise to be sent to Geneva to complete my study; but the execution of this pious design became almost impracticable through the severity of the Edicts issued out about this time against those who should go out of the Kingdom, without proper passes; the penalty was no less than Death, the Gallies or perpetual Imprisonment—Imprisonment according to the circumstances of the offenders.

About this time by a special order from Court several young Gentlemen & Gentlewomen were confined in religious houses to be trained up in the Roman Catholic Religion; This alarmed all the Cevennes; my Father in particular fearing lest I should fall into severe hands, was persuaded by his friends to send me to a College of Jesuits at Nismes, at Languedoc, where I must confess I met with far better usage than I had reason to expect from persons so entirely devoted to the Church of Rome.

My Tutor whose name was Father Tupinier was a man of excellent temper and morals; I had not been acquainted with him long but I became his favorite. He maintained with great moderation the principles of popery, and heard with patience the objections made against it; returning such answers as were most likely to prevail with a young man of about 16 years of age.

But all his endeavours proved ineffectual, the longer I continued among them, the stronger was my aversion for a religion which I was satisfied in my own mind was erroneous, and contrary to the Holy Scriptures; some things I did not dislike, though contrary to the doctrine I had once received. The observation of Lent, and other fast days, confirmation, kneeling at the Holy Communion and a suitable decency in the worship of God and administration of the Sacraments, was very agreeable to my sentiments; but the invocation of Saints, the worship of images, and the adoration of the Eucharist were doctrines I could never be reconciled to, however they were disguised.

By the overpowering influences of God's Grace, my mind was so well grounded upon the principles of the Reformation, that neither the means used, nor the civility received during the space of three years, or thereabouts in the company of Jesuits who have been so remarkable for making proselytes, could make any change in my opinions.

I was I confess obliged to comply with the external modes of

worship, for fear of some greater restraint ; but this was always done with great reluctance and grief of heart ; of this my Tutor himself was very sensible, but he used the same dissimulation towards me as I did towards him, till I could find a convenient opportunity to escape out of the Kingdom whatever hazards I might run in the execution of such an enterprise.

With this view being heartily weary of a religion so contrary to my inclinations I obtained leave to go home, and spend some time with my Friends ; being fully determined never to return again, if by any means I could avoid it ; I was not disappointed of my hopes ; My Father as uneasy as myself under our unhappy circumstances, never attempted to send me to a place where my Religion and his were in so much danger. But when I pressed him by myself, and all my friends to go to Geneva, the dismal accounts which we had daily of those that had been murdered or taken prisoners, in their passage was still a plausible excuse, to which I could give no satisfactory answer.

In this perplexity considering with myself that I was losing time to no manner of purpose, and that I was so much taken notice of as to receive a visit from my Tutor, with a very kind invitation to the College ; I earnestly entreated my Father to send me to Nismes, to a Merchant an acquaintance of his, where under the notion of a Prentice I might be secure from any further prosecutions.

This scheme succeeded above all my expectations, under this disguise I contrived all proper ways and means to go out of the kingdom. I communicated my design to a few faithful who were very instrumental to my happy deliverance. They brought me acquainted with an honest man who knew all the byeways and paths from Nismes into Savoy. And because the passes of the mountains were carefully guarded by soldiers during the summer season we fixed our departure upon a Saturday morning the 6th of January 1700 N.S. when the mountains were all covered with snow. The boldness of such an attempt could not be but very surprising to my tender parents to whom therefore I sent the following letter :

Most honour'd Father,

I doubt not but the news of my sudden and unexpected departure from Nismes will be very surprising to you, and fill your minds with terrible fears of approaching dangers. I have weighed all the consequences more than once and upon the whole I find such an impulse upon my mind which cannot be resisted ; I have often desired your consent and approbation but always in vain. Let no displeasure of yours most honoured Father retard the pious designs

of a son who has nothing in view, besides the honour of God, and the salvation of his soul : you may probably suppose that my rambling humour, or some discontent at home has engaged me in this hazardous undertaking ; but God is my witness that the satisfaction of serving him in the most acceptable manner, is my only aim. I am not so young or so void of common sense as fondly to suppose that the pleasure of travelling, or the advantageous Refuge can make me amends for the loss of my Parents, Friends, and Country. I expect in my pilgrimage to be exposed to m[an]y troubles, fatigues and disappointments ; this was the case of Abraham, Isaac, & Jacob, and of all the saints that went before us ; and if we fall into the same trials of affliction we must not be surprised as if some strange things happened unto us.

As for my dangers we must despise them in the performance of my duty, and I am persuaded in my own mind that God who opened a new and extraordinary way for his people to escape the persecutions of Pharoah, will also provide one for me to disappoint the malice of my enemies. In this expectation I beseech you most Honoured Father to accompany me with your prayers, rather than your tears, and to be persuaded that my enterprise was not to withdraw myself from your obedience, but to obey the voice of God. Thrice happy if by any means, I may attain unto the Resurrection of the just, though I should be called to seal the profession of my faith with my blood.

I conclude with begging with tears, your blessing, hoping that you will not refuse this consolation to a son, whom you lose for a short time that you may recover him for ever.

This letter was sent by a proper hand, and I set out from Nismes with all the cheerfulness imaginable, at the time appointed, in the company of my guide, and a bosom friend, who was willing to share my danger as well as my purse, his circumstances not suffering him to bear the expenses of a long journey, though on foot that we might avoid all great roads.

The fear of a pursuit made us so diligent that we passed through a place called Usez early the same morning and came to Bagnols heartily fatigued ; nevertheless rising two or three hours before day and came to a bridge over the Rhone called Pont St. Esprit secured day and night by a strong guard. To prevent suspicion my guide went boldly to the sentinel to enquire of him what time Mass was to begin ; and by this stratagem we passed unobserved into Dauphiné, and without any delay proceeding to Pierlatte, we came to Montélimard with much difficulty ; finding myself so tired that I

could no longer stand upon my feet. In this place I passed a very uncomfortable night, nothing appearing to me so terrible as the thought of being obliged to return back again ; but by the assistance of God, finding myself much refreshed the next morning we pursued our journey to Lauriol, where some friends represented our passage as impracticable considering the strict orders lately given to guard with care all the frontiers.

But these discouragements signified nothing to those who are resolved to venture at all hazards, without consulting with flesh and blood, we came into the great road leading to Lyons, but left it the next morning and turning to the right hand towards Beaumont we had the happiness to meet with a young man who offered to lead us a surer way than that which my guide had proposed to take : I accepted thankfully his offer having first been assured by our friends that he always had the character of a very honest and zealous protestant.

In this place it was that we learned a piece of news which gave me great satisfaction. A clergyman whose name was Romans, had for some years preached in France, to the poor distressed protestants, contrary to the King's Edicts ; but being now betrayed by a false brother he was wounded and taken by some officers and carried to a place called Bouqueivan, proposing to stay all night for fear of a rescue. But this precaution was the cause of his happy deliverance ; for the news of his being taken was no sooner known, in a country where protestants had the advantage of numbers, but a company besieged the house and demanded the liberty of the Clergyman, threatening fire and sword to any one that should dare to oppose them. Instead of complying with their request one of the Officers fired two pistols out of a window, and in exchange received a musquet shot which killed him on the spot. This so enraged the guards that they proposed to kill Mr. Romans by way of reprisals, and they would certainly, had not their own danger put them in fear of their own lives.

This worthy Clergyman to prevent the effusion of blood, gave them to understand that every one of their lives must fall a sacrifice to these young men, if they took away his ; but that if they would deliver him into their hands, not one of their hairs should fall to the ground. The conditions were accepted and faithfully executed on both sides, and the young men taking Mr. Romans out of the house, carried him off and passed with him through the place where I was then but a few days before.

This news made us proceed on our journey with courage, but

we had scarce left Beaumont, when a gentleman on horseback suspecting our design cautioned us not to pass by Turin where several fugitives had been arrested ; we gave him thanks and taking his advice left the great road and came to the side of the mountains of Grenoble, by paths exceedingly difficult and troublesome, upon the score of the snow ; but this was but the beginning of sorrows, for when we came to Mirabel the mountains appeared inaccessible through the deepness of the snow, so that in a few hours we were almost spent and in the utmost danger of perishing, through weariness and cold ; nevertheless the desire I had of leaving my unfortunate Country was so prevailing in my mind, that going foremost, I encouraged my fellow travellers by clearing the way before them, assuring them that God would enable us to overcome all disadvantages and discouragements.

This was in the night, for we durst not pass the hills by day, and to make it more dismal they were all covered with a fog, so very thick that we could scarce see one another ; in this perplexing condition I led the way without being dismayed, till the ice breaking under the snow, I fell into a pool, but by good fortune the water was not above three feet deep.

And now I must confess I began to think that we must inevitably perish, but God's providence seasonably interposed by bringing us to a little hut upon the hill, where we found an honest old man who put us in the way to a town called Echelles in the utmost borders of Dauphiné. In this place there is a bridge but strictly guarded by a company of soldiers. Leaving therefore the common road we turned to the left hand, and came upon the banks of a river about two miles below the bridge, and waded through the water on the 12th of January after a successive march of nearly twenty hours, without any rest or any other sustenance, besides a little bread and brandy. And now being passed the river, our greatest danger was over ; nevertheless fearing a pursuit, we walked several miles into Savoy, with all our frozen clothes, before we would venture to take any rest ; as soon as we came to the Inn we made a good breakfast, stripped ourselves, went into a warm bed, and slept twelve or fourteen hours while our clothes were drying by the fire.

The next day finding ourselves much refreshed we proceeded by easy journeys through Savoy, came to Chambéry and without losing any time hastened with all diligence towards Geneva, which was the place we had so much desired to see ; we had that happiness the 16th day of the same month about eight in the morning, where we had the satisfaction to meet those protestants that had been

taken at Turin, who by a special providence had means to escape out of their prisons. I was no sooner at Geneva but without loss of time I wrote the following letter to one of my uncles in France not daring to address myself to my Father for fear of his displeasure.

Most honoured Uncle. Not knowing how my honoured Father will relish my going out of the country without his leave, I take the liberty to address myself to you in the most humble manner, to intercede in my behalf, if my Father is any ways displeased. I could not propose to myself any temporal pleasure or advantage by leaving my Country and exposing myself to so many dangers. God is my witness that I had no other view besides the satisfaction of serving God according to the motions of my own conscience. This blessing once obtained, I will cheerfully submit to the meanest condition in this world. These things I beg the favour of you to represent to my honoured Father, in the most engaging terms, beseeching him to favour me with a letter as soon as possible that I may know what course I am to take.

Between hope and fear, I waited some days at Geneva for an answer, but to no purpose, my Father contenting himself with writing to a Merchant in that Town to furnish me with the necessary supplies, without giving me any directions. Being thus disappointed, I consulted all those that had any knowledge of my family, and particularly the Merchant above mentioned whose name was Cardonet about what course I was to take, who unanimously advised me to proceed in my travels towards Germany, to a place called Schwabach, belonging to the principality of Anspach, where one of my Uncles was first Minister of the French Church.

Nothing was more suitable with my inclinations ; I was so well pleased with the thoughts of seeing him in a place of liberty that I set out on the 22nd of the same month in the company of one Fanther who was going to Erlang about 20 miles beyond Schwabach.

We embarked upon the lake of Geneva, but had like to perish through a sudden storm of wind, which lasted several hours ; but by the grace of God we regained the shore at a place called Coupet [Coppet] one or two hours in the night and the next day came to Morges where we waited some time for a chariot.

It cannot be expected that travelling under great disadvantages I should give any particular account of persons, places and things. This requires longer time than I was willing to spare, expedition was much more suitable to my circumstances. From Morges we came to Lausanne, and from thence setting out on the 28th we passed through the Swiss Cantons of Berne, Soleure, Zurich and Shaffhausen.

In Shaffhausen we tarried some days waiting for a chariot which was going to Nuremberg not very far from Schwabach. This chariot was exceedingly expeditious, through the advantage of the snow which being frozen had made the way very smooth and even ; we made no stay in any citys or villages, but proceeding in our journey with all diligence, arrived at Schwabach about the latter end of February.

In our passage through Switzerland we were treated courteously ; the Swiss being a free-hearted people, of a very cheerful and pleasant humour ; but when we came into Germany we found the reverse. The Germans are a proud morose and unsociable people, despising all other nations besides their own, though they have the least reason ; whether [by] their riches or by their manners using all strangers with a haughtiness not to be found in any civilized nation : Except in Citys you find no beds, in all places one common room with some straw, is the place of your rest without any respect of persons.

I was now happily come to my Uncles house where I was received with all imaginable demonstration of joy, and without loss of time applied myself diligently to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, with a good Commentator and other books of divinity such as my Uncle recommended to me. In these studies I applied myself with so much diligence that I begrudged the least interruption and complained of the shortness of the days ; but my constitution could not bear long with such an intense application. I fell insensibly into a languishing illness which the physicians supposed would soon end in a consumption, if I pursued my studies with so much zeal. I was obliged to discontinue them, and in the mean time wrote the following letter to my Mother in France.

Most Honoured Mother,

In the distressed condition the persecution has reduced us to, I can do no less than present myself before the throne of grace beseeching God, with many sighs and tears to direct your way to us by some special dispensations of his good providence, that you may be able to serve God according to the purity of his holy Gospel ; it is in vain to promise unto ourselves a restoration ; if we have no concern for the honour of God, no zeal for his Holy religion, God will have no regard to our tribulations.

Our happy escape out of France most honoured mother is an argument to you, that the ways are not impassable ; if you have but the courage to undertake the journey, God will have the goodness to conduct you safe under the shadow of his wings.

Some days after this letter was sent, I had the satisfaction to hear not only that my Father highly approved of what I had done but also disposed himself to follow me in some short time. Never news was received with greater joy ; The pleasure of his approbation had such an influence that from this time I began to recover strength, and the hopes of a perfect cure to which the news I received in the beginning of August contributed much. By one letter I was informed that my Father was gone from Nismes in his way to Geneva ; and by another that he was come thither without any hindrance. I waited with impatience his coming to Schwabach and that the time might seem shorter, I went to see the city of Nuremberg, and another place called Neu Erlang, which the French refugees were then building within the principality of Bareith ; the journey was pleasant and some days after my return being the 29th of August I had the satisfaction to see my honoured Father and one of my brothers who being bred up to business found no great difficulty of escape, the ways being always open to Merchants.

My Father being now out of danger I turned all my thoughts upon the ways and means of persuading my Mother to follow his example, and accordingly I wrote to her the following letter.

Most honoured Mother,

God of his infinite goodness and mercy having heard our prayers in the behalf of my honoured Father, [we are moved] to renew our most earnest supplications in yours, beseeching him day and night to bring you from the kingdom of darkness into his light, that we may with one heart and one mouth shew forth his noble praises. My most honoured Father engages you by the most sacred ties to come to us, and Jesus Christ the great Shepherd, and Bishop of our souls makes use of our pens to bring you into these happy countries where the Sun of Righteousness shines with healing in his wings. Consider most honoured mother that an eternity of happiness or misery is of the utmost consequence, and that what we propose and so earnestly desire is the only sure means of obtaining the one and escaping the other. I am sensible that your infirmities represent such an undertaking as impracticable, but I am fully persuaded, that if you have faith enough to throw yourself into the arms of Gods providence, he will support your fainting spirits and give you a prosperous issue out of all dangers.

About this time finding myself recovered out of my languishing, I resumed my studies under my uncle with great satisfaction ; but forasmuch as Germany was a country no ways suitable either to my constitution or my inclinations, I prevailed upon my Father and my

Uncle to let me pass into England, which by all other Churches is looked upon as the most complete model of the Reformation.

The resolution was taken in the winter and the 29th May following, 1701 I set out from Schwabach and took coach at Nuremberg the 2nd June, and came to Frankfort on the Maine on the 7th where taking boat we came down to Mentz, where the river falls into the Rhine. In going down the Rhine I saw a great many fine cities, and strong castles on both sides which gave a very agreeable prospect, but without making any long stay in any of them I came to Nimeguen in Holland the 21st instant, and two days after to Rotterdam where embarking in a packet boat, I came to London the 29th after we had been 5 days upon the water.

I had letters of recommendation to several gentlemen in London, who had received favours from my Father, and my Uncle ; nevertheless I was so ill received by them that my heart began to fail, finding myself in a strange country without any friends and acquaintance ; of this I gave a true account to my Father in these words :

Most honoured Father,

As soon as I came to London, I waited upon Mr. Duchesnoy, who received me with all the civility, I could expect from so hearty a friend, and I can say he is the only one upon whom I may safely trust. I wish I had never seen any others in this city, for instead of encouraging me with the hopes of some tolerable settlement in England, they have more than once intimated to me that my wisest way was to return back again either into Holland or Germany. This is the advice of those you had the greatest dependance upon ; but since my coming to this famous city, I have made some friends by whose means I still hope either to get into one of the Universities or into some gentlemans family, wherein I may pursue my studies and qualify myself for the sacred Priesthood. If I may but gain this point I shall not refuse to submit myself to the meanest condition.

During the time I was in London I left no stone unturned to forward my design. I had many offers made ; but none suited with my conveniency, till a gentlewoman a Clergymans widow, whose name was Chamier, as remarkable for her piety, as she was for many other excellent qualifications ; proposed to me to go into Barbadoes, to have the tuition of two young gentlemen of considerable fortune in that island ; of this I gave my Father the following account.

Most Honoured Father,

After I had waited long for a settlement in England in vain, I have found one in America. I doubt not but the thoughts of such a long and dangerous voyage will give you abundance of uneasiness ; but I desire you to consider that all countrys are at an equal distance from heaven, and that Gods providence reaches as far as the whole creation. I have agreed with a gentleman who has a very large estate at Barbadoes to pass into that island, where he has engaged himself to give me £40 a year, and to bear all my expenses besides for the tuition of his two sons. If I perish, death will put an end to all my troubles ; and if I escape I shall be like those ancient Saints who had no city to dwell in, but went from one nation, to another ; from one kingdom to another people ; what I earnestly desire, is the assistance of your good prayers ; that among all the changes and chances of this uncertain life, I may always behave myself as becomes the holiness of my profession.

From this time I prepared all things necessary for so long a voyage ; and on the 4th of October I went down to Gravesend and embarked in a ship, bound for the West Indies, called *Mary Ann*, commanded by Capt. Burn. From thence we fell down the Thames ; and keeping close to the English shore, we came to an anchor at Dover ; where we tarried 4 days, waiting for a fair wind.

The 14th of October an Easterly wind arising, and for several days the wind proving very favourable we soon lost sight of England and came into the main sea ; but about the 8th day a tempestuous South wind arising we suffered a storm of three weeks which exposed us to the utmost dangers, the circumstances of which are as follows. The 22nd of October about midnight, a south wind contrary to us arose, which was succeeded the next day by a calm of 24 hours, after which, the same wind growing stronger and stronger, became at last so furious, that we were forced to leave the ship in a great measure to the mercy of the waves. In this condition we were tossed to and fro, till the 10th of November when a whirlwind in the night beat so violently against the right side of the ship, that a piece of timber 8 feet in length and 4 broad was shattered to pieces ; and from this moment, the water running into the ship, seemed to forbid us any further hopes.

In this place I cannot forbear mentioning a remarkable dream which I had the same night, which gave me no small consolation. I thought I was riding upon a flying horse, whose intention seemed to be fully bent upon throwing me into some dismal precipice ; and as I was looking about for some means of deliverance, I saw at a

distance a tree of prodigious size whose branches reached unto the clouds ; and as I was carried that way with particular swiftness, I flattered myself that I should be able to quit my flying horse by the assistance of the boughs but to my great surprise, when I took hold of the branches, I found that they were so rotten, that they vanished into dust, and smook upon the least touch ; despairing then from my help from secondary causes, I applied myself by prayer to the Great Creator and Preserver of Mankind ; and the words were no sooner out of my lips, but my flying horse, left me between heaven and earth supported by a cloud, which by a perpendicular, but gentle motion, came down into the ruins of an old house, and vanished out of my sight. I returned God thanks for my happy deliverance ; nevertheless I found soon after, that I was taken up again into the air, when a venerable old woman, coming to my assistance put a pair of scales upon my head and rescued me from any further danger. I was never inclined to put any dependance upon dreams, nevertheless this seemed to have something so remarkable and so suitable to my present circumstances, that I conceived great hopes of a prosperous issue out of our present troubles. I supposed that our ship was the flying horse, the seamen the rotten tree, and the venerable old woman Justice and concluded that the proper means of escaping our present danger, was by constant prayer to God and by the practice of righteousness.

The wind began to abate, but we had no sooner escaped this danger, but we fell into another far more terrible to us ; we discovered at a great distance a vessel, which in some hours after, we found to be a Pirate mounted with 12 pieces of cannon, and a prodigious number of seamen ; we immediately prepared ourselves to fight, for having the wind of us, there was no possibility of making our escape. They came up to us full sail, but we gave them such a warm reception, that after the first fire, we found them out of reach of our Guns ; we had as many guns as they, but they had I believe double the number of hands ; however the thoughts of slavery gave us such courage, that we entered into an agreement, that the first man that would lay down his arms, should be cast into the sea.

The 18th instant a gentle north wind arose which gave us an opportunity, to refit our vessel, so as to be able to proceed in our voyage ; we touched at Madeira, where we made a good provision of water and wine, of which we had great need ; and after a calm of three days came into the Trading winds, which never failed us till we arrived at Barbadoes.

After we had passed the tropic of Cancer, we were delighted

with a prodigious number of fishes, for besides Dolphins and Flying Fishes, which gave me great diversion, I saw two of an extraordinary size and shape ; the first was a Whale of prodigious bigness, which followed our ship three days successively ; and the second a flat fish of monstrous size and shape ; its stripe was something like a Thornback : I could perceive no head, but two horns of great length ; it swam upon the surface of the waters, and gave our sailors an opportunity to divert themselves with their cramp irons, for almost a whole day ; at last one of them fastened his irons into the back of the fish, which was like to prove fatal, for six or seven sailors were like to be carried into the sea, through the violence of the motion which the fish made after it was wounded ; the rest of our voyage was exceedingly pleasant, and we landed at Barbadoes on the 8th of December, to our unspeakable joy and satisfaction.

We came ashore at Bridgetown, the most considerable place upon the island ; where I met with an English gentleman who had travelled some years in France, and he assured me received so many civilities from my countrymen that he would willingly do me any service. I returned him my humble thanks ; and that when he understood that my business was to wait upon Counsellor Lillington ; the gentleman who by his agents in London had contracted with me ; he ordered immediately his servants, and horses, to convey me to his house at some distance from Bridgetown.

When I came to his seat, I found the family in great affliction ; two young gentlemen whom I was designed to instruct being ill of the bloody Flux, but by the grace of God upon the means they soon recovered ; and I soon found that my good fortune had brought me into a family where I might pass my days with a great deal of satisfaction, as you may perceive in the letter which I wrote to my Father.

Most Honoured Father,

After many dangers escaped I have now landed upon the island of Barbadoes, where I can promise to myself some rest, after many fatigues I have undergone in our tedious voyage ; we have been in danger by robbers as well as of the sea ; we had no sooner launched into the Ocean but a furious tempest which lasted nearly three weeks, gave us a dismal prospect of a sudden, and as we all supposed an inevitable destruction. This danger was no sooner over but we found ourselves engaged with a Pirate Ship, but by the assistance of God, and the help of our arms, we made them fly with some precipitation. The rest of our voyage was pleasant and we came upon the island on the 8th of Decr. 1701.

In this island the days are nearly of an equal length all the year,

of about 14 hours ; and a perpetual summer divides the four quarters. The natural inhabitants are almost black having little notion of any divinity and without any worship. They go all naked but of late cover those parts which give most offence to the Europeans, with a girdle. When they are determined to marry they call their parents and friends together and in their presence declare that they are willing to take such a one to wife ; and the woman making the same declaration, the marriage is concluded. About three months after the birth of a child, they again invite their kindred and friends, and after a merry meeting they give him a name.

They have upon the island abundance of Oranges, Lemons, Pine-apples, Melons and some other fruits exceedingly good and sweet. They have also Plantains, Potatoes, and Cabbage Trees, of a surprising tallness ; Beans are not very scarce, and as for fowls, they are exceedingly plentiful and fat. The Europeans who are for the most part English, are exceedingly affable and courteous to strangers ; In the family, I have the happiness to live ; I have as much freedom as if I was in my own house. I will take care not to abuse any of the many favours I daily receive ; and endeavour to the utmost of my power, to behave myself so as not to be altogether unworthy of them. Counsellor Lillington, has built a very good room for a school, in one of the wings of his house ; with a design to invite the neighbouring Gentlemen to send their sons to me, which in some time is likely to prove exceedingly advantageous, none of them offering less than £20 a year for the education of a son.

But such is the uncertainty of all our schemes, that a sudden change of providence does in a moment break all our measures. I was not long in Barbadoes, but I was afflicted with sore legs that I was no longer able to go abroad ; and when I was pretty well recovered from this illness, I was troubled with a continual indigestion and looseness, so that in a quarter of a year's time I was informed by all my friends that unless I removed in some short time, I must never expect to see England again. Counsellor Lillington seeing my case was so desperate told me one day that he proposed to go to England in some short time, and that if I would go with him, he would take his two Sons and leave them under my care in London upon the same terms as were agreed on when I came to Barbadoes. I received the kind offer with abundance of thanks, and accordingly we embarked at Bridgetown some time in June and had a very favourable passage ; but when we came within 100 leagues of the English shore, we were informed that war was proclaimed against France and that the channel was full of French privateers. This

was dismal news unto all, but especially to me ; who if I had been taken and known must expect at least to be confined for life. In this perplexing case the master of the vessel proposed to get into the midst of the islands of Scilly, not far from the western part of England, and we were so happy as to meet with a pilot by whose assistance we got into the bay ; waiting for a convoy. While we were there, we saw the confederate fleet of English and Dutch pass by ; which made a glorious as well as a terrible shew to all beholders ; and about a month after we came to Plymouth, under the shelter of a man of war. My joy was unspeakable to see myself delivered from so many dangers ; till one morning Counsellor Lillington informed me that he had no further occasion for my services and that he would convey me to my friends at his own expence, by any way that I should choose ; a piece of news so unexpected gave me abundance of uneasiness ; I put him in mind of his promise at Barbadoes, but all to no purpose ; his friends at Plymouth informed him that for £20 a year he might find an able man to take care of the education of his Sons. Being thus disappointed I took my leave of him and came to London about the latter end of August 1702 fully resolved to go to Oxford ; sometime in the winter I was preparing myself for this journey, when a friend of mine brought me to the acquaintance of a West country gentleman whose name was Strachey, a justice of the peace, for the county of Somerset. This gentleman had a considerable estate, and a large family : His seat was called Sutton Court, about the middle way between Bath and Wells. In the circumstances I was then in I readily accepted the offer he made of £20 a year, his table and a horse whenever I should be willing to take any journey of pleasure : sometime before Christmas I went into the country with him and came to Sutton Court, where I had a considerable time of rest after so many fatigues, and began to taste the pleasure of life. In this place my time was divided between the care of my pupils, and my studies ; the former by day and the latter generally by night ; allowing myself one day in the week, for exercise, either in hunting, shooting, or fishing ; in this manner I spent three or four years with great satisfaction to myself ; when supposing myself sufficiently qualified for the sacred ministry I applied myself to the Right Rev. Father in God, George Hooper, Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells ; who after due examination was pleased to admit me into the order of Deacons the 19th of May 1706. This success was an encouragement to me to pursue my studies with greater diligence, that after my year of probation according to the Canons, I might without danger of being refused, offer myself as a

candidate for Priest's Orders ; and I was not disappointed of my hopes : for when I presented myself before his Lordship on the 6th of June 1707 I not only passed my examination but was ordained Priest on the Sunday following, with some particular marks of favour. And now I was in a great measure at the end of all my wishes. Nevertheless my God had provided something better for me. I had not been long in Priests Orders, but my Lord Bishop sent for me and desired me to take care of a living then in his own hands, till his return from London, whither he was then going, when he would think of a proper person to give it to ; promising me that I should have £30 a year for my pains. I need not say how gladly I received these distinguishing marks of his Lordship's favour. I served the Cure about half a year when the Bishop returning from London, I was agreeably surprised by another message ; his Lordship sent a servant and a letter to Strachey to inform him, that if he could with any conveniency, any otherwise provide for the education of his children, he would take it as a favour if he would give me leave to wait on him at Wells. This message was not so welcome to the gentleman as it was to me ; nevertheless, considering the many advantages, I was likely to receive, he communicated the letter to me, and sent back word that I should wait upon him the next day to receive his Lordships commands. I was in Wells the following day by ten in the morning and was received with that affability and condescension which was peculiar to this worthy Bishop. He told me that I should go in his family under the title of his Secretary ; lest being called his Chaplain I should move the envy of some of the English Clergy, who are too apt to look with an envious eye upon any favours bestowed upon strangers, but that I was to officiate in his family as both, and that as an earnest of his future kindness, he gave me the rectory of Chillwood, worth £50 a year, to which I was instituted the same day the 13th day of June 1709. The next day I returned to Sutton Court, and staid there till the latter end of July when taking leave of the good family, with abundance of thanks for the many civilities which I had received, I came to Wells, just as his Lordship was beginning his Visitation : and here for ten days I lived as happy as any mortal can wish on this side the grave. Upon the 3rd of Dec. 1712 his Lordship gave me besides the Prebend and Rectory of Dinder, which the 6th April 1718 I exchanged for the Prebend of Henstridge which was much better. Whilst I had Dinder I became intimately acquainted with a virtuous gentlewoman of the place, Mrs. Margaret Bisse of a good and creditable family ; and was married to her in the palace Chapel by the Bishop himself the

last day of December 1713. I had by her five children four sons and one daughter whereof only two Katharine and Elias lived some time with me. All this while I continued at the palace, as before, which is a favour seldom or ever granted ; having a house in Wells where I retired every night after the service of the day was over ; till the Rectory of Axbridge, where Thos. Prorose [?] Esq. had a pleasant seat, Grandson to the Bishop and sometimes under my care at the Palace, falling into his Lordship's hands I had the offer of it together with the Prebend of Williscombe. I can safely say that I never asked this, or any other preferment of his Lordship ; whatever I had before, or now enjoy came unexpected. Now Axbridge being a corporation town required my presence, and therefore in June 1720 I removed from Wells and settled in Axbridge and the 25th of Octr. 1721, I had the misfortune to lose my wife, and the 28th of Septr. my son Elias also departed this life, reducing my family to myself and my daughter Katharine. My affliction was certainly very great and my condition dismal, till falling in the company of Mrs. Elizabeth Chorley, all my losses were happily made up by my happy marriage with her on the 13 of March 1728-9.

The Registers of the Reformed Church at La Roche-Beaucourt.

By C. E. LART.

LA ROCHE-BEAUCOURT is a small village or hamlet, clustered about its seigneurial château, or manor-house, in the Angoumois, a few miles south-east of Angoulême, on the road to Brantôme. The small congregation which met for worship in the château formed one of those churches which were allowed, by the Edict of Nantes, to hold their services in the house of a seigneur who held the rights of the High, Middle and Low Justice. In the reign of Henry IV there were 3500 such lordships whose seigneurs were Protestant and exercised their right. Such fiefs are sometimes designated *fiefs de plein haubert*—the haubert being the shirt of mail reaching to the knee, and worn in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries under the cuirass. The simple *escuier*, the lowest rank of the *noblesse*, could not wear it, but used the *haubergeon*, a shorter garment of chain-mail worn by archers and *sergents d'armes*.

The term *maison noble*, or *lieu noble*, which occurs in the Registers of this period was a château or manor-house to which appertained the High, Middle and Low Justices, and the term *haut Justicier* denoted the seigneur who possessed them.

The privilege of holding their services in these châteaux was no doubt granted as a security for the small country churches, which might otherwise have suffered at the hands of the Romanist majorities, as was in fact the case in many instances in the larger towns, whose records are full of quarrels and disputes raised by the clergy; although it must be confessed that where the Reformed were in power, in towns like Nismes and La Rochelle, they too used the powers they possessed against the Romanists. Not always, however, did this happen, especially in the earlier years of 1560 and onwards,

for in many places in Saintonge and Poitou, like Langon, the *gospellers* held the parish church in joint use with the Catholics, holding their *presche* at a different hour—in some places it is on record even that the curé read the Gospel and the minister the Epistle, and all lived in peace and amity.

It must be remembered that in the beginning the trend of Reform, under men like the Cardinal de Chatillon and Michel de l'Hopital, was towards a reformed Gallican Church rather than Calvinism. It was, too, the influence of the Cardinal—a fact little noted in Church histories—on the mind of Elizabeth which contributed largely in preventing the English Church from following the same course. How many English churchmen know that he who celebrated the Lord's Supper according to the reformed rite in his Cathedral church of Beauvais lies buried in the Cathedral of Canterbury, poisoned by his enemies?

There are many instances in these small Registers which show the unwillingness to break the Gallican continuity. The sign of the Cross is general in all the early Registers: the major saints' days and many minor ones are named—' Jour de Saint-Michel,' ' de Saint-Luc,' ' de Ste. Catherine,' ' Quasimodo ' Sunday, and a vigil long fallen out of mind, ' Vigille de Rois '—the adoration of the Magi and Kings of the East who followed the star which led them to Bethlehem.

The edicts which preceded the Edict of the Revocation gradually took away all the privileges and safeguards granted by Henry IV. After the middle of the seventeenth century they followed one another thick and fast, till by the year 1680 hardly any privilege of any kind existed at all. The Revocation Edict was only the *coup de grâce*.

Pastors were forbidden to exercise their function for more than three years in one place. Restrictions were imposed as to the quality and status of persons who might profess the *Religion Prétendue Réformée* in houses having the right of High Justice. Restrictions were placed on the holding of *consistoires*, and then these might only be held in presence of a magistrate. Punishments were inflicted on those of the *R.P.R.* who allowed persons not authorised by the State to enter the ' temples,' or give the blessing. Then there was the edict which forbade magistrates and lawyers to employ Protestant clerks; which

forbade the children of Protestant fathers and Catholic mothers. to be brought up as Protestants. No Protestant might employ a Catholic servant. No Protestant might practise as a doctor or lawyer, or a Protestant woman act as a midwife. No magistrate might act in cases where the interested parties were Catholics, if their wives were Protestant. No Protestants might worship outside their own *bailliage*. Any Protestants who left France without permission were punished with the galleys. All these edicts followed one another between 1660 and 1685.

These little Registers speak of peaceful days in the reign of the good King Henry, before the evil days came ; of quiet Sunday gatherings in the château, where the great seigneur and the country gentry, the village doctor and merchant, and the ordinary folk met together for worship. One can see them talking and chatting after the *presche* is over. There is Monsieur Potard, in his black gown and white bands, walking with them, asking how they are doing, and the latest infant, just baptised, is being admired. The latest news is being discussed. The sun shines warm, and the pigeons coo and strut on the grey slate roof. The château and the pigeons are there, but the company has gone : the brown pages of the Registers bring them back again, and the ink is hardly dry.

NOTE.—Besides these fragmentary Registers, there exists a copy of extracts made about 1686 or later, in the Archives Nationales, among the Police papers of La Reynie. These only consist of twenty ‘actes de baptême,’ which are in some cases incomplete copies, and in which some names are wrongly given : evidently dictated to a copyist who did not compare his transcript with the original. Where there is a variation, this is given in the text (1574. 1^o Août—1597. 20 Oct.). The original Register is without proper sequence, and seems to have been compiled from notes taken at the time, and copied later into the book.

REGISTRES DE L'ÉGLISE RÉFORMÉE DE
LA ROCHE-BEAUCOURT.

‘Pappier des baptêmes qui se sont faits à la Roche-Beaucourt depuis le unzième fevrier mil cinq cent quatre vingt dix.’

(1579. 10 *Aoust*) nasquit le sieur Jean de la Rochebeaucourt (1), sieur et baron dud. lieu: fut b. au chasteau dud. lieu de la Roche-Beaucourt. P. Le sieur du Boydulan. M. . . . ?

(1580. 21 *Juillet*) a e. b. René de Brassac (2), escuyer. Nâquit le 21^o.

(1581. 20 *Sept.*) a e. b. Loys de Brassac (3), escuyer, Seigneur de Sommensaq. N. le 20^o.

(1590. 11 *Fev.*) a e. b. Loys Dexans, f. de Bernard Dexans, escuyer, sieur de Chateaudière et de Blanzaguet. P. Loys de Cescaud, escuyer, sieur du Vivier. M. Dem^{lle} Marguerite Dexans. Nasquit le 18 Mai 1589.

(*Same date*) . . . de Sescaud, ff. de François . . . de Sescaud, escuyer, sieur de Puirigaut, et dem^{lle} . . . Poitevin. P. Loys de Sescaud, escuyer, sieur du Vivier. M. . . . ?

(*Same date*) . . . de Mareuilh, ff. de Bertrand de Mareuilh, escuyer, sieur de la Voute, et de dem^{lle} Gabrielle de Veaux. P. Marquis de Veaux, escuyer, sieur de Tranchard. M. dam^{lle} Antoinette Alphéry.

(*Same date*) a e. b. Joseph de Lacroze, f. Anthoine de Lacroze, et de Marye Saint Guin. P. Joseph Meymin, de Larroche-Beaucourt. M. Jeanne Niraut, femme de Jean de Lacou.

(*Same date*) Suzanne Mothe, ff. de Mathurin, et de feue Jeanne Grand. P. M^r Jean Bernard de Villeboyer. M. Guilhemine de Ceyrac.

(1591. 31 *Mai*) nasquit Marguerite Dexans, ff. de Bernard Dexans, escuyer, sieur de Gastandyes, et de dam^{lle} Jeanne de Sescou. P. François de Sescaud, escuyer, sieur de Puirigaut. M. dam^{lle} Gabrielle des Hasles. B. à la Roche-Beaucourt par M^r de Bériamont.

(1591. 22 *Sept.*) nasquit Loys Audier, f. de Geoffroi Audier, escuyer, sieur de Leyteyrie et de dam^{lle} Jeanne Saunier: et b. à la Roche Saint Ouran (? St. Ouen) P. Loys Saunié, escuyer, sieur de Chanredon. M. Mad^{lle} de Nanteuilh.

(1591. 30 *Dec.*) ‘Environ midy, pénultiesme de descambre’ nasquit Marye de Sescou, ff. de Loys, escuyer, sieur du Vivier, et de dam^{lle} Ester Jaubert. P. François Jaubert, escuyer, sieur de Chaptaumet (?). M. Madame Laroche, et b. à la Roche Beaucourt.

(1592. 27 *Sept.*) a e. b. Suzanne Aubin, ff. d’Antoine, et de Peyronne Beraud. P. . . . ? M. Bernade Mothe. N. le jour des Rois. Potard, Min.

(*Same date*) a e. b. Jean de Lacroix, f. du sieur des Cannettes, et de Marguerite Saunier. P. Jean Segui, escuyer, sieur de la Brousse. M. Jeanne Barbarin. N. le pénultiesme de Mai. Potard, Min.

(1592. 9 *Nov.*) nâquit Anne Bagonet, ff. d’Olivier, et de Narde Nebont, de la par: de Salles, b. à la Roche Beaucourt le dit jour [*sic*] 27 Dec. P. Jacques Joyeux, juge de Palluran. M. Léonarde Coquet, tous deux de la par: de Salles.

(1592. 11 *Nov.*) nâquit Héllie Dallom, f. de Pharasmon [Pharamond] (4) et de Jeanne de Farques: de la par: de Salles: b. à la Roche-Beaucourt, le dit jour cy-dessus. P. Philippes Bernard. M. Anne Faur.

(1592. 29 *Nov.*) nasquit Jeanne Joyeux, ff. de M^e Jacques Joyeux, juge de Palluran, et de Reymonde Chamin, de la par: de Chally, environ trois heures après midy: b. à la Roche-Beaucourt, le 27 Dec. P. Pierre Joyeux. M. Mary Chamin. Potard, Min.

(1593. 8 *Mars*) a e. b. Louise de Laporte, ff. de Jean de Laporte, escuyer, sieur de Vielleville, et de dam^{lle} Louise de Poulignac. P. Benjamin de Ranconnet, escuyer, sieur d’Escoueyre. M. Dame Marye de Larroche-Beaucourt, dame dud. lieu, et nasquit, au rapport de la mère, le 26 Fev.

*(1593. 11 *Av.*) a e. b. Suzanne Laval, ff. de Poncet de Laval, sieur de Ladou, et de dam^{lle} Jeanne Bugannet, n. 7 Mai 1590. P. Loys de Sescaud, escuyer, sieur du Vivier. M. dam^{lle} Roze de Lescaud, frères [*sic*].

(1593. 18 *Av.*) a e. b. Anne Bernardet, ff. de Thomas, et de Catherine Rougier. P. Aron de Lincou (?), escuyer, sieur de la Bergerye. M. dam^{lle} Anne Estellet. N. le 30 Mars 1593.

†(1593. 7 *Mai*) a e. b. Gabriel de Lagarde, f. du Sieur de Nanteuilh. P. Monsieur de Saint-Germain (5). M. Madame de la Roche-Beaucourt. N. le 23 *Av.*

(1593. 23 *Mai*) nasquit Marye Dexans, ff. de Bernard, escuyer, sieur de Blanzaguet. P. Monsieur Delladou. M. Madame de Larroche. Potard, Min.

(1593. 8 *Aoust*) a e. b. Jean Audier, f. de Geoffroi Audier, escuyer, sieur de Leyteyrie, et de dam^{lle} Jeanne de Saunier. P. Bertrand Audier, escuyer, sieur de Monchevet (?). M. dam^{lle} Marguerite de Laffaye, dame de Plancheminier. Né le 8 *Av.*

(1593. 5 *Dec.*) nasquit Judith . . . ff. de . . . et de dam^{lle} Sidonie de la Loubière. P. Jacques Rousseau, sieur de Lassalle. M. dam^{lle} Judith Jaubert, femme de Loys de Sescaud, escuyer, sieur du Vivier.

(1593. 19 *Dec.*) a e. b. Marye de Ranconnet, ff. de Monsieur d'Escoueyre, et de dam^{lle} Marthe de Reymond, dame de Rexans. P. Monsieur de Chastillon. M. Madame de la Roche. N. le 7^o.

(1593. 26 *Dec.*) a e. b. Martial de Lacroix, f. de M^r Reymond de Lacroix, et de Guilhemette de Saint Lary, de Brantosme. P. M^r Martial Dechas. M. Mademoiselle de Laporte : et on dit estre né il y eut un mois ou environ.

(1594. 6 *Jan.*) a e. b. Benjamin Perrot, f. de Simon, et de Collette . . . demeurant au Repaire. P. Benjamin de Ranconnet, escuyer, sieur d'Escoueyre. M. dam^{lle} Catherine de Raymond. N. le 7^o *Jan.* [*sic*] audit an 1593.

(1594. 9 *Jan.*) a e. b. Anne Aubin, ff. d'Anthoine Aubin, et de Peyronne Béraud. P. Gui Juclard, sieur de la Grange. M. Sibille de Badailhac, ff. du juge de la Tour Blanche. Nasquit le 16 *Dec.*, 1593.

(1594. 6 *Mars*) nasquit Jean de Many, f. de René de Many, escuyer, sieur de la Chauguimère, et de Anne Duson. P. Jean Dulaux, escuyer. M. Sibille Dulaux. Le dimanche de Casimodo (6) [*sic*] le 17 *Av.* ensuivant [*sic*].

(1594. 27 *Av.*) nasquit Hélye Bazin, f. de Noël Bazin, et de Marie de Larivière, dam^{lle}. P. Michel Mesnard. M. Sibille Dulaux, dam^{lle}; b. 8 *Mai*.

(1594. 25 *Juin*) nâquit Rachel Noël, ff. de Pierre Noël, et de Renée Lameau, de Marcines. P. M^e Mathieu de Puiceynier, sergent royal. M. Rachel de Lamau ; b. le tiers jour de Juillet ensuivant.

(1594. 21 *Juillet*) a e. b. Pierre Boutinot, f. d'André, et de Marguerite Beaufort de Rouzet. P. Léonard Peyronnet de Moncais. M. Narde Mothe, femme de M^r Léon Grand. Nasquit le 14 dud. mois.

(1594. 16 *Sept.*) a e. b. au lieu noble du Vivier, Ester de Mareuilh, ff. de Bertrand de Mareuilh, escuyer, sieur de la Voute, et de dam^{lle} Gabrielle de Vaux. P. Thimothée de Mareuilh, escuyer. M. Ester Jaubert. N. le 12^o.

(1594. 21 *Nov.*) a e. b. Suzanne Rousseau, ff. de Jacques Rousseau, sieur de Lassalle, et de dame Hélis Danglane [D'Anglure]. P. Bertrand de Mareuilh, escuyer, sieur de la Voute. M. dam^{lle} Susanne de Chaffaux, dame de Rivage. Née le 29 *Sept.* jour de Saint Michel. Potard, Min.

(1594. 27 *Nov.*) a e. b. Joseph Hervé, f. de François, escuyer, de la Roche-Beaucourt, et de Catherine Nolin. P. Joseph Mesmin, chirurgien. M. Jeanne Potard. Né le 24^o.

(1595. 5 *Jan.*) vigille des Rois (7), nasquit Pierre Rousseau, f. de Jacques Rousseau, sieur de Lassalle, et de dam^{lle} Hélix d'Anglure, b. aud. lieu de

* This entry occurs in the original between the dates 22 *Sept.* 1591 and 30 *Dec.* 1591.

† This entry is duplicated, 7 *Mai*, 1593, and 17 *Mai*, 1593.

Lassalle, le 8^o. P. Pierre de Pontlevain, escuyer, sieur dud. lieu. M. dam^{lle} Marguerite Dexans, femme du sieur de Puirigaut.

(1595. 3 *Juin*) nâquit Marye Martin, ff. de Feriq, et de Liette Bonet, de la Roche-Chaudri, b. le 11^o. P. M^e Guillaume Beriget, f. de Toussaint, marchand. M. Mary de la Rivière, dam^{lle}.

(1595. 18 *Juin*) Jean Laffigrai, marchand, demeurant en la par: de Dignac, fit profession de la religion par devant Monsieur Potard, à La Roche-Beaucourt.

* (1595. 26 *Juin*) a e. b. Anne Laffigrai, ff. de Jean Laffigrai, et de Jeanne de la Lande. P. Pierre Allaraton, de Molidan [Mussidan] se disant. M. dam^{lle} Anne de Feydiq, ff. du sieur d'Espouyaux. Née au . . . ? du Pavé, le 26 Av. dernier.

(1595. 2 *Juillet*) nasquit Mary de Vars, ff. de Geoffroi de Vars, escuyer, sieur de Motsalés, et de dam^{lle} Marguerite Saunier, au lieu noble de la garde seigneuse. P. Louis Saunier, escuyer, sieur de Champredon. M. Hélis de Merle, dame de Boisseton, de la Barde, et de Saint Siphorien.

(1595. 25 *Juillet*) a e. b. Isabeau de Beynac, ff. de Messire Michel de Beynac, et de dame Jehanne d'Aubusson, seigneur et dame de Villar et de Lavallade, et bapt. aud. lieu de Lavalade, par M. Potard, Min. de la Roche-Beaucourt. P. Geoffroy de Beynac, baron et seigneur dud. lieu. M. Gaspard de Lheur, dame de Beynac, sa mère.

(1595. 5 *Sept.*) née Esther de Luiron [Livron], ff. du sieur du Magne, b. 1 Nov. Potard, Min.

(1595. 1 *Oct.*) a e. b. Pierre Tilhet, f. de Léon Tilhet, musnier au Repaire, et d'Odette . . . P. Pierre Alarathon, de Melidan [Mussidan]. M. Jeanne Landet. N. 23 Sept.

(1595. 21 *Nov.*) a e. b. Jean Dexans, f. de Bernard Dexans, escuyer, sieur de la maison noble de Blanzaguet, et de dem^{lle} Jeanne de Cescaud en ladite maison. N. à la vigille de Saint Luc dernier.

(1595 ? 1596. 5 *Jan.*) nasquit environ trois heures avant jour, vigille de Rois, Pierre Rousseau, f. de Jacques Rousseau, sieur de Lassalle, et de dem^{lle} Hélix d'Anglure : b. à Lassalle le 8. dud. mois. P. Pierre de Pontlevain, escuyer, sieur dud. lieu. M. Marguerite Dexans, femme du sieur de Puirigaut.

(1596. 21 *Fev.*) a e. b. Pierre Aubin, f. d'autre Pierre Aubin, et de Perrine Bérat, du bourg de Boutz : n. environ le jour de Saint Michel dernier. P. M^e Guilhaume de Coubrans, not: roy: M. dem^{lle} Marthe de Lacroix.

(1596. 16 *Av.*) nasquit Jean de Sescaut, f. de Loys, escuyer, sieur du Vivier, et de dam^{lle} Judith Jaubert. P. Jean Goulard, baron dud. lieu. M. dam^{lle} Marguerite Dexans, femme du sieur de Puirigaut.

(1596. 19 *Mai*) a e. b. Jacques de la Croix, f. de Reymond, et de Guilhanette de Saint-Cays. P. François de Grignoles [Grimault in copy, A. Nat.] de la maison de la Porte. M. Mad^{lle} d'Estourneaux. Nasquit la veille de Saint Martin dernier.

(1596. 11 *Aoust*) nasquit Isac (?) de Luiron [Livron], ff. dudit seigneur, baptisée le 22 Janvier suivant [*sic*]. P. Jean de Lagard, escuyer, seigneur de Nanteuilh. M. Marye de Pastoureau, dame de Chanbon. [In extracts Arch. Nat. 'Isaac, fils dud. seigneur.' Potard, Min.]

(1596. 18 *Aoust*) nasquit Marguerite de Sescaud, ff. de François, escuyer, sieur de Puirigaut, et de dam^{lle} Marguerite Dexans, femme du sieur de Puirigaut. P. Jacques Rousseau, sieur de Lassalle. M. dam^{lle} Marguerite de Sescaud, dame de Ladou, le père present. B. 22 dud. mois. Potard, Min.

(1596. 22 *Dec.*) a e. b. Estienne Sers (Serre), f. de Jean, escuyer, verrier. P. Estienne Guilhem, escuyer, sieur de Lacroix, verrier. M. Mademoiselle de Sers. N. le 20^o.

(*Same date*) a e. b. René Potard, f. de M. Potard. P. René de Goulard, escuyer, sieur de Clion. M. La fille aynée de Puitignon.

* This entry is duplicated, 25 Juin—26 Juin, 1595.

(1596. 28 *Dec.*) nasquit Peyronne de Beynac, ff. des seigneur et dame de Villar et de la Vallade, b. le 24 Jan. 1597 suivant au lieu de la Vallade. Potard, Min.

(1597. 16 *Fev.*) nasquit Pierre Balouet, f. de Jacques, et de Florique Tourte, de la Roche-Beaucourt, b. le dimanche. P. Mathurin Giraut, sieur de la Sansay. M. Moline . . . femme de M^e François le Tailleur.

(1597. 22 *Mars*) nasquit Hipolite Bernardin, ff. de Thomas, et de Catherine Rogier; b. le 30^e. P. Pierre de Laporte, escuyer, f. de Monsieur de Chastillon. M. dam^{lle} Anne . . . ff. de Monsieur de Lamothe Charante.

(1597. 2 *Av.*) nasquit Zorobabel de Mareuilh, f. de Bertrand, escuyer, sieur de la Voute, et de dam^{lle} Gabrielle de Vaux, b. le 27. P. Zorobabel de Vaux, escuyer. M. sa sœur.

(1597. 28 *Sept.*) nasquit Jacques Maigre, f. d'autre Jacques Maigre, marchand, et d'Izabel Meynard, de la Rochelle, au lieu de Villenois, en la maison de Jeanne Leytier, b. à la Roche-Beaucourt le 12 Oct. par M. Potard. P. Pierre Mazurier, marchand, d'Aubeterre. M. dam^{lle} Marguerite Demorel, dud. Villenois.

(1597. 30 *Sept.*) nasquit Estienne Odier, f. de Geoffroi, escuyer, sieur de Leyterie, et de dam^{lle} Jeanne Saunier, b. le 12 Oct.

(1597. 20 *Oct.*) environ minuit, nasquit Anne Legai, ff. de Maître Nicolas peintre, et de Marye . . . et fut bapt. le dimanche suivant, le 26 dud. mois. P. Messire Guilhen de Rouillide, sieur de Beauregard. M. Marye de Larrivière.

(*Same date*) nasquit Gabrielle Pauty (Puar, Arch. Nat.), ff. de François, escuyer, seigneur d'Angé, et de dam^{lle} Ester de Teydig: fut bapt. au lieu de Pouyaux, le 29. P. Gabriel Feydiq. M. dam^{lle} Anne de Feydiq, ff. dud. sieur. Potard, Min.

(1598. 1 *Av.*) nasquit Jeanne Mareueilh, ff. de Bertrand, et de dam^{lle} Gabrielle de Vaux, sieur et dame de la Vaute, et b. 10 Mai au lieu de la Roche-Beaucourt. P. Jean de Goulard, baron du lieu. M. Mad^{lle} de Puirigaut. Potard, Min.

(1598. 15 *Av.*) nasquit François Dexans [fils de Bernard Dexans], escuyer, sieur de Chastandyes [Gastandyes], et de Jeanne de Sescau, dam^{lle}, et fut b. en la maison noble de Blanzaguet 7^e Mai ensuivant. P. Françon Jaubert, l'ainé, escuyer, sieur de Chaptamat (?), et dam^{lle} de la Grange. Potard, Min.

(1598. 10 *Mai*) espouzèrent le fils de Mothe, et un cordonnier de la Regnerye.

(1598. 12 *Mai*) nasquit Jeanne Paute, ff. de Pierre, sieur de la Forest, et de Marguerite Ceyrac, et fut b. à La Roche-Beaucourt. P. Daniel Paulte, oncle de la dite Jeanne. M. Jeanne Chambaut, dame de Rivaux. Potard, Min.

(1598. 10 *Aoust*) nasquit Marye Bauloi, ff. de Jacques Bauloi, de la Grange, et de Florique Tourte: et b. 16^e dud. mois. P . . . ? M. Marye Barran, ff. de Madame Noble. Potard, Min.

(1598. 25 *Août*) nasquit Marye Mercier, ff. de Mercier, sieur de Larrivière, et de dam^{lle} Sara Rivaud; fut b. le xi Oct. suivant. P. M^r Lambert. M. Mad^{lle} de Fonhiron.

(1598. 10 *Oct.*) nasquit Jacques Audier, f. du sieur de Leiterye, et fut b. le dimanche 25^e Oct. P. Jacques dela Foucaudye, escuyer, sieur de Douilhac. M. dam^{lle} Marguerite Saunier, femme de Monsieur de Motsalat.(?)

(1599. 3 *Juin*) nasquit Gabriel Martin, f. de Antoine, et de Lucrette de Luc(?) et b. le 20^e du mois. P. Gabriel de Lui. . . .(?) escuyer, sieur de Boyer. M. dam^{lle} Marguerite de Laffaye, dame de Planche meynier. Potard, Min.

(1599. 25 *Aoust*) nasquit Marthe Meymin, ff. de Joseph, chirurgien de la Roche-Beaucourt, et b. le dit jour 12 Sept. [*sic*]. P. François de Sescaud, escuyer, sieur de Puirigaut. M. Mad^{lle} de Larrivière.

(1599. 7 *Sept.*) nasquit Catherine de Lafont, ff. de Pierre, et de Catherine: et fut b. le 12^e Sept. P. François Hervé, maître tailleur. M. Dam^{lle} Marthe Reymond, dame de Repaire. Potard, Min.

(1600. 10 *Fev.*) nasquit Jean de Sescaud, f. de Louis de Sescaud, escuyer,

sieur du Vivier, et de dam^{lle} Judith Jaubert, b. 19 Jun. P. Monsieur de Parabel. M. Madame de Laroche. Min., Potard.

(1600. 23 *Av.*) c'est présenté en l'église refformée de la Roche-Beaucourt, Gérosme de Villars, escuyer, sieur de Rochet, lequel a fait profession de ladite religion refformée, déclarant en ladite assemblée n'en avoir jamais fait aucune profession.

(1600. 30 *Av.*) a e. b. Claude de Sescaud, f. de François, sieur de Puirigaut. P. Bertrand de Mareueilh, escuyer, sieur de la Vaulte. M. dam^{lle} Anne de Chaumont, dame de Puitignon. Né la nuit du 23 Fev. Min. Potard.

(1600. 3 *Sept.*) nâquit Marye Mothe, ff. de Jean et de . . . de la Chaussadepierre, de Blanzaguet. P. Benjamin Mothe, père dud. Jean. M. Marye Mothe, sœur dud. Jean. B. 10 Oct. Min. Potard.

(1600. 8 *Oct.*) a e. b. Daniel Odier, f. du sieur de Leyterie. P. Monsieur de Chamredon, au lieu de M. de Nanteuil. M. Madame de Payssac. Né le jour de St. Paul, qui fut le 29 Jun.

(*Same date*) a e. b. Marguerite Aubin, ff. d'Antoine, et de Catherine Giraut de Roux. P. le fils de Madame de Lacroix. M. Madame de la Forest : née le jour de la petite [*sic*] Saint-Jean, 26^o de Mai.

(1600. 26 *Oct.*) nasquit Jean Dexans [fils de Bernard Dexans] escuyer, sieur de Gastaudye, et de dam^{lle} Jeanne de Sescaud. P. Bertrand de Mareueilh, escuyer, sieur de la Vaulte. M. dem^{lle} Marguerite de Morel.

(1600. 26 *Oct.*) nasquit Jean Dexans [fils de Bernard Dexans] escuyer, sieur de Gastaudye, et de dam^{lle} Jeanne de Sescaud. P. Bertrand de Mareueilh, escuyer, sieur de la Vaulte. M. dam^{lle} Marguerite de Morel. Min. Potard.

(1602. 20 *Janv.*) a e. b. Marie Mesmin, ff. de M^e Joseph Mesmin, chirurgien de la Roche-Beaucourt. P. M^e Daniel Martin. M. la mère de M^e Joseph.

(1602. 7 *Mars*) nasquit Suzanne de Sescaud, ff. du Sieur de Puirigaut, b. le 17^o. P. Bernard Dexans, escuyer, sieur de Blanzaguet. M. dam^{lle} Lia de Laval, ff. du sieur de Ladou. Potard, Min.

(1602. 14 *Août*) nasquit Sara Bernardin, ff. de Thomas, et de Catherine Rouzier. P. Monsieur de Planche-Meynier. M. Mad^{lle} de Larrivière. Bapt. par Monsieur de Potard [*sic*].

(1602. 11 *Nov.*) Jour de St. Martin, nasquit Joseph Baulay, f. de Jaques, et de Floryne Tourte. P. M^e Joseph Meymin, chirurgien. M. Marye Martin.

(1602. 26 *Nov.*) Jour de Sainte-Catherine, nasquit Loys de Mareuilh [fils de . . . de Mareuilh] escuyer, sieur de Virecourt, et de dam^{lle} . . . Féricauld, s. femme, b. 24 Août, par M. de Potard 24 Aoust 1603 [*sic*]. P. Loys de Sescaud, escuyer, sieur du Vivier. M. dam^{lle} Cebille du Lauel, dame de la Bresche, de la paroisse de Roussenac.

(1603. 12 *Mars*) nasquit Jeanne de la Loubière, ff. de Hélye de la Loubière, escuyer, sieur de Bernac, et de dem^{lle} . . . Chastagner : b. aud. lieu de Bernac. P. Charles Juglard, escuyer, sieur de Lage. M. dam^{lle} Jeanne de la Mothe. Min., Potard.

(1603. 3 *Oct.*) nasquit Suzanne Jaubert, ff. du brodeur, demeurant à la Roche-Beaucour, et de Ester Martin. P. Maître Daniel Martin. M. Noline, femme de M^e François Hervé, tailleur, dud. lieu. Min., Potard.

(1603. 5 *Nov.*) nasquit Jeanne Mothe, f. de Benjamin, et de Marye Macot. P. Jean Mothe. M. Jeanne Joyeux. Min., Potard.

(1603. 3 *Dec.*) nasquit Charles Juglard, f. de l'autre Charles, sieur du Tilhet et de . . . b. 22 Fev. P. Charles Juglard, escuyer, sieur de Lage. M. Suzanne Juglard, sa tante.

(1605. 13 *Jan.*) nâquit Lidyé Baulan, ff. de Jaques, sieur de Lagrange, et de Florique Tourte, b. 16. dud. mois. P. Monsieur de Puirigaut. M. Mad^{lle} de Ladou.

(*Undated*) nasquit Jeanne Masuer, ff. de Daniel, maistre apotticaire. P. . . . Masuer, frère dud. M^r Daniel. M. Jeanne Bernard

(1605. 26 *Jan.*) nasquit Elix de la Loubière, ff. de Hélye de la Loubière,

escuyer, sieur de Bernac, et de dem^{lle} . . . Chastagner, b. le 17^o Fev. P. Monsieur de Tramoyer. M. Madame de Laroche.

(1605. 14 *Fev.*) nasquit François Aubin, f. de Antoine du Laidigoux. P. M^r de Badailhac, juge seigneurial de la Tour Blanche. M. dam^{lle} Sara de Regnaut.

(1605. 16 *Fev.*) nasquit Elizabeth Audier, ff. du sieur de Leyterrie, b. le 17^o.

(1605. 17 *Fev.*) nasquit Elizabeth Odier, ff. de Monsieur de Leyterrie. b. le 27^o Fev. P. Gui Troubat, sieur de Lage. M. la fille aynée de Monsieur de Montreuilh.

(*Undated*) nasquit François Reclus, f. de . . . Reclus, et de dam^{lle} . . .

b. le 27^o. P. François Reclus, son oncle.

(1605. 31 *Juillet*) nasquit Loys . . . f. de sieur de Chandelery, et de dam^{lle} Ester Jaubert.

(1608. 29 *Mai*) nâquit Thimothée Plantier, f. de M^r François. P. Thimothée de Mareuilh, escuyer, sieur de Virecourt. M. dam^{lle} Lea de Sescaud, dame de Chacressiale. B. le 15^o Juin.

(1609. 12 *Av.*) nasquit . . . Rigaud f. de M^r Jean Rigaud et de Vallerye Gombaudo, de la par: de saint Martial de Viverols. P. M^e Gabriel Rigaud. M. Sibille de Badailhac: dam^{lle} le 17^o dud. mois.

(1611. 27 *Juillet*) nasquit Estienne Martin, f. de M^e Daniel, notaire de la Roche-Beaucourt. P. Estienne de Cescaud, escuyer, sieur de Saint-Just. M. Guilhemine de Seyrac, dame de Lacroix.

(1612. 21 *Nov.*) nasquit Jean Bernard, f. de M^e Guilhem, chirurgien, et d'Anne Riche. P. M^e Jean Bernard, son oncle. M. Jeanne Bazin, sa grandemère. Le 16 Dec.

NOTES.

(1) The family of Goulard, or Golard, de Brassac de Béarn were seigneurs de la Roche-Beaucourt.

(2) René de Golard de Brassac.

(3) See (1) and (2).

(4) For some obscure reason this name is common at this time in the Angoumois and Saintonge.

(5) Probably the celebrated Protestant leader Gaspard Foucaut, S^r de St. Germain.

(6) Quasimodo Sunday, the octave after Easter.

(7) The Adoration of the Magi.

Notes on the Family of Beuzeville.

By W. A. BEUZEVILLE.

WITH A GENEALOGY BY W. MINET, F.S.A.

THE name Beuzeville is frequently met with in ancient Norman chronicles. A family document in existence commences thus : 'Guillaume de Beuzeville, Guillelmus de Beusevilla, avant le regne de Guillaume le Conquérant était abbé du monastère de Bec en Normandie.' Much further on is noted 'Guillaume Beuzeville médecin du Roi François I^{er}, ancêtre direct de Beuzeville de Henley.'

All traces of the immediate ancestors of the refugees have however been lost. The earliest authentic record is that of Jaques Beuzeville and Marie Anne Guillemard his wife. Family tradition states that this Jaques, together with his wife and infant son, barely escaped from France with their lives, abandoning all their possessions, and eventually reaching England, probably about 1709 or 1710. Their second son, Pierre, was born in London in 1711 or 1712. Some time after this they returned to France, for their third son, Stephen, was born in the parish of Millemare, Province of Caux, and the fourth, Samuel, at Bolbec in 1717. The birthplace of Jean Baptiste, the youngest, is not known. They returned to London before 1728, for the *Témoignages* of Threadneedle Street Church give the names of Jaques B. in 1727 and Pierre in 1728.

The refugee apparently established a silk-weaving business at 24 Steward Street, Spitalfields. He died in 1745, and his wife died shortly after. A tablet to their memory in the wall of Stepney Church stated that they 'pour cause de religion morts.' The silk-weaving business was carried on by the eldest son James.

Stephen established himself as a silk manufacturer in Edinburgh. Returning later to London, he was elected a director of la Providence in 1774, and died in 1775.

Samuel entered the Church, and was minister of La Patente, Spitalfields, from 1753-61. He was also minister of St. Jean's, Spitalfields, for twenty-four years. He died on January 3, 1782. In 1778 he was editor of Dr. Durant's *Vie d'Osterwald*. It is interesting to know that his Church of St. Jean had been rebuilt prior to 1772. In his will, bearing that date, he bequeaths, among many other small legacies, the sum of '£5 to John Louvel, first child baptised in St. Jean's Church when rebuilt.'

Jean Baptiste also entered the Church. In 1741 he was minister at La Patente, Spitalfields, and in 1742 he became first Collegiate French Minister of Edinburgh.

The silk-weaving industry established by the refugees in Spitalfields was carried on in the same premises through four generations for just 100 years, until 1827, when the firm failed. Stephen, the head of the family at that time, then entered the firm of Courtauld & Co., at Braintree, where he died in 1862. He was elected a director of la Providence in 1814.

James, eldest son of Stephen, relinquished the management of a concern of Courtauld in Spain and emigrated to Australia in 1848. He established an experimental silk-growing institution in New South Wales, but the project, proving a failure, was abandoned.

The arms of the family (as given in Burke's *General Armoury*) are *Ar. a fesse sa. betw. three cinquefoils vert*, and the crest is *A lion's head ppr.* These are practically the same as those of the Norman family.

A TABLE OF THE BEUZEVILLE FAMILY.

1.

JAQUES, from Bolbec, Normandy ; *b.* before 1685 ; *d.* 1745 ; *mar.* Marie Anne Guillemard. They had issue :

- i. JAMES (of whom hereafter) [2].
- ii. PIERRE, weaver of Spitalfields ; *b.* 1711 ; *d.* 1767 ; *mar.* 1st Elizabeth Roussel, *b.* 1709, *d.* 1758, 2nd Susannah Davids. By 1st wife he had Moses, *o.s.p.*, *b.* 1745, *d. cir.* 1760, and Pierre, *b.* 1741, elected Director la Providence, 1776, *d.* 1812 at Henley-on-Thames. He married Mary Griffith Meredith, daughter of Sir Griffith, and had issue :
 - (a) *Bridget*, married John Curtis Byles, from whom are descended Byles.
 - (b) *Samuel*, died young.
 - (c) *Esther*, married James Philip Hewlett.
 - (d) *Marianne*, died young.
 - (e) *Charlotte*, died young.
- iii. STEPHEN, silk manufacturer of Edinboro, and later of London ; elected Director la Providence in 1774.
- iv. SAMUEL, *b.* at Bolbec 1717 ; *d.* 1782. Min. of St. Jean, Spitalfields 1758–1782. *Mar.* Elizabeth Ouvry, *d.* in Jersey 1811.
- v. JEAN BAPTISTE, Minister La Patente, Spitalfields, 1741. First French min. Edinboro 1742 ; *d.* 1771.

2.

JAMES, weaver at the Old Artillery ground, Spitalfields ; *d.* 1763 ; *mar.* 1736 Elizabeth Barbet, and had issue :

- i. JAMES (of whom hereafter) [3].
- ii. ELIZABETH, *mar.* James Belloncle.
- iii. MAGDALEN.
- iv. MARY.
- v. ESTHER, *mar.* Daniel Olivier and had 3 children.

3.

JAMES, silk manufacturer of Nail Street, Hackney ; *b.* 1750 ; elected Director la Providence 1777 ; *d.* 1799, buried at Cheshunt, Herts. *Mar.* 1st Elizabeth —, 2nd Mary Jacob, *b.* 1754, *d.* 1838, buried at Cheshunt. They had issue :

- i. STEPHEN (of whom hereafter) [4].

- ii. ELIZABETH, *mar.* James Barbet and had 7 children.
- iii. SOPHIA, *mar.* John Perrel and had a daughter.
- iv. AMELIA, *d.* unmarried.

4.

STEPHEN, silk manufacturer of the Old Artillery ground, Spitalfields; *b.* 1784; elected Director la Providence 1814; *d.* 1862 at Bocking, Essex. *Mar.* Anna Maria Paroissien, *d.* 1864 at Bocking. They had issue:

- i. JAMES (of whom hereafter) [5].
- ii. FREDERICK JOHN, *d.* unmarried.
- iii. GEORGE, *b.* 1820, *d.* 1893. Emigrated to U.S.A. 1840. Had 7 children; *inter quos* are *George*, now of Chicago, and *Frederick* (*d.* 1903, leaving *daus.*) of Morrisson, Ill.
- iv. MARY JANE, *d.* unmarried.
- v. ELIZA, *d.* unmarried.

5.

JAMES, *b.* at 24 Stewart Street, Spitalfields, 1 June 1809; *d.* at Enfield, Sydney, N.S.W., 28 Sept. 1887. Emigrated to Australia 1848. *Mar.* 1833 Jane Myles, *b.* 4 June 1803 in Bethnal Green, *d.* 29 Aug. 1871 at Balmain, Sydney. They had issue:

- i. JAMES OSMUND, *b.* 1838; *d.* 1840.
- ii. JAMES PAROISSIEN (of whom hereafter) [6].
- iii. FREDERICK LOUIS, *b.* 1844 at Bocking; *d.* 1922.
- iv. MYLES JOSEPH, *b.* 1847 at Greenwich, Kent; *d.* 3 May 1873. *Mar.* Diana Maud Syer, leaving issue, Reginald, *d. unm.*
- v. HERBERT MARSHALL, *b.* 1850 at Aylesbury House, Parramatta, N.S.W.; *d.* 1921. *Mar.* 24 Dec. 1872, Sophia Scott. Has issue 11 children.
- vi. WILLFRED EDDRUP, *b.* 1852 at Balmain; *d.* 1874 at Bathurst, N.S.W.
- vii. EMILY JANE, *b.* 1834; *d.* 1842.
- viii. ELLEN MARIA SOPHIA, *b.* 1835 at Bocking; *d.* 17 June 1916 at Orange, N.S.W. *Mar.* George Pownall, and has issue 3 children, of whom Herbert Wilfred, *b.* 1870, *mar.* Mary Warburton, and has issue 3 children.
- ix. AMELIA MARY, *b.* 1837; *d.* 1847.
- x. ANETTE MARIANNE, *b.* 1839; *d.* 1840.
- xi. ELVINA ELIZABETH, *b.* 1841; *d.* 25 July 1908 at Sydney.
- xii. JEANETTE LOUISE, *b.* 1842; *d.* 1843.
- xiii. CLARA, *b.* 1845; *d.* 1847.

6.

JAMES PAROISSIEN, *b.* 30 June 1843 at Bocking; *d.* 19 Oct. 1891 at Wagga Wagga, N.S.W. *Mar.* 16 June 1877, Hannah Anne Watt, *b.* 8 Jan. 1849 at Bathurst, N.S.W. They had issue :

- i. JAMES (of whom hereafter) [7].
- ii. HAROLD.
- iii. WILFRED ALEXANDER, J.P. for N.S.W. Forest Commission, *b.* 13 Feb. 1884 at Bombala, N.S.W.; *mar.* at Tumut, N.S.W., Jan. 1907, Fanny Helena Ratcliffe, and has issue *Wilfred Paroissien*, *b.* at Tumut 27 Mar. 1908, *Hélène Babette*, *b.* at Tumut 29 June, 1910.
- iv. HUBERT OSMUND, *b.* 1887; *d.* 1889.
- v. ANDREA.
- vi. ANNIE RUTH GORE, *b.* 3 Mar. 1885 at Bombala; *mar.* Richard Large, and has issue *Peggy Andrea*, *b.* at Goondiwindi, Queensland; *Ruth Patricia*, *b.* Sept. 1922.

7.

JAMES, *b.* 1878 at Balmain, N.S.W.; *mar.* at Tumut, 1907, Eva Violet Groves, and has issue :

- i. JAMES HOWARD, *b.* 24 Dec. 1908.

Miscellanea.

I.—THE VAILLANT FAMILY.

THE following notes on a fine latten brass, which has been placed in the church of St. Clement Danes, Strand, as a memorial to the Huguenot family of Vaillant, and on the family which it commemorates, are taken from the *Surrey Advertiser*. The family lived for 117 years in the parish of St. Clement Danes, at what was then 87 Strand, one of the four houses with gardens adjoining the precincts of the Savoy.

The monument was designed by Mr. George Scruby and the incised lettering of the inscription is copied from that on the Trajan column, with richly coloured armorial bearings of the family on copper in painted champlevé enamel. It states that François Vaillant, of Paris, with his wife, Jacqueline Guillemin, and their five children, fled from Saumur at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. His grandson, Paul Vaillant, J.P., was Sheriff of London in 1760, and attended Lawrence, Earl Ferrers, at his execution at Tyburn, who presented the Sheriff with his watch and chain on the scaffold, which, with the other relics of the execution, have been heirlooms in the Vaillant family. He married Miss Theodosia Whichcote.

His great-grandson was the Rev. Philip Vaillant, M.A., who for 45 years was Rector of Stoke D'Abernon, Surrey. He married in 1805 Miss Balchin, the eldest daughter of Mr. John Balchin, of Cedar House, Cobham, whose wife inherited from her uncle, Mr. Joseph Moss, both that estate and adjoining lands in Cobham. Mrs. Philip Vaillant was related to Admiral Sir John Balchin, whose flagship was the *Victory*, the second of that name and the immediate predecessor of Nelson's *Victory*. The Vaillants have lived in Surrey over 200 years.

François Vaillant made his escape from France in 1685, concealed in a barrel which was supposed to contain apples. Mrs. Paul Vaillant, who escaped in 1681, returned in 1685 to see after

some property, but was discovered and imprisoned in the Bastille in Paris, from which she escaped many months afterwards, and fled a second time to London. She and her husband are both buried in St. Anne's, Soho.

(Communicated by the REV. W. B. VAILLANT.)

II.—THE FRENCH CHURCH, THREADNEEDLE STREET, AND THE ROYAL EXCHANGE.

The following extract is taken from Appendix No. III, p. 107, to the *Life of Mr. William Kiffin*, upwards of sixty years (1639–1701) Pastor of the Baptist Church, Devonshire Square, London, and one of the five Aldermen appointed by James II in 1687, when he disfranchised the City.¹

On the 15th of March 1688.—This court [Common Council] being now informed that the Royall Exchange below stairs used to be a good accommodation for poor French Protestants, who on the Lord's daies resorted thither from their church in the morning and there were wont to continue until church time in the afternoon. It is ordered by this court, that for convenience of the said poore persons, the gates of the Royall Exchange shall be opened on every Lord's-day for the future, untill further order of this court, at eleven of the clock before noon, and continue open untill two, and then be shut up again.

The church, of course, would be the French Church in Threadneedle Street.

(Communicated by R. W. BUSS, ESQ.)

III.—PETER FEUILLERADE.

The following is a copy of the monumental inscription of the Rev. Peter Feuillerade in Bygrave Church. His naturalisation by Act of Parliament in 1706, when he was described

¹ Kiffin was born in 1616, and became a merchant, and a lieutenant-colonel in the London Militia. His grandsons, Benjamin and William Hewling, were executed for complicity in Monmouth's rebellion; William was under twenty when he died. Their sister Hannah married Major Richard Cromwell, grandson of the Protector.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON

Vol. XII. No. 6

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON

MEETINGS OF THE SESSION 1922-23.

FIRST ORDINARY MEETING, *Wednesday, November 8, 1922*, held at the Hôtel Russell, W.C. WYATT WYATT-PAINE, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Annual Meeting held on May 10, 1922, were read and confirmed.

Mr. W. Minet, F.S.A., read a paper on 'Toleration.'

SECOND ORDINARY MEETING, *Wednesday, January 10, 1923*, held at the Hôtel Russell, W.C. WYATT WYATT-PAINE, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on November 8, 1922, were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :

Herman William Tinné, Union Club, Trafalgar Square, S.W. 1.

Samuel Augustin Courtauld, 8 Palace Green, W. 8.

Alfred Herbert Lush, 13 Redcliffe Square, S.W. 10.

Mr. C. E. Lart, F.R.Hist.S., read a paper entitled 'Human Documents : Notes from French Protestant Registers and other Sources.'

THIRD ORDINARY MEETING, *Wednesday, March 14, 1923*, held at the Hôtel Russell, W.C. WYATT WYATT-PAINE, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on January 10, 1923, were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :

Bernard Grellier and Norman Grellier, both of St. Martin's Croft, Downs Road, Epsom.

A paper entitled 'Some Notes on Sir Samuel Romilly and Étienne Dumont' was read by Sir William J. Collins, K.C.V.O.

THIRTY-NINTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, *Wednesday, May 9, 1923*, held at the Hôtel Russell, W.C. WYATT WYATT-PAINE, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on March 14 were read and confirmed.

Sir Henry Bruce Lefroy, K.C.M.G., of Walebing, Western Australia, was elected a Fellow of the Society.

The Annual Report of the Council was read as follows :—

Report of Council to the Thirty-ninth Annual General Meeting of the Huguenot Society of London.

The Council has again to place on record a slight diminution in the total Fellowship, which now stands at 317. During the session under review six new Fellows have been elected, but the Society has during the year lost by death eight valued supporters. There have also been four resignations, and five Fellows have been struck off for non-payment of arrears of subscription. There is thus a net reduction in the numbers of eleven, compared with twenty-two recorded in last year's Annual Report.

It is hoped that Fellows will continue their endeavours to make the Society and its work known to all interested in Huguenot history and research, in order that its membership shall be as representative as possible of the families in this country of French Protestant descent.

In spite of the continued high cost of printing and paper, the Society has been able to complete two volumes of its quarto series of publications during the session, viz., Vol. XXVI, containing the *Registers of the French Churches of the Savoy, Spring Gardens and Les Grecs*, edited by Mr. Minet and Miss Susan Minet, and Vol. XXVII, dealing with *Naturalizations and Denizations in England and Ireland from 1701 to 1800*, edited by Dr. Shaw, the production of which had been unavoidably delayed for some time. The transcription of further Registers is in progress, and their publication will be proceeded with in due course.

No. 4 of Vol. XII of the *Proceedings* of the Society has been published since the last Annual Report, and the preparation of a further number, which will include papers read down to the end of the Session 1921-2, and other original communications, has been taken in hand.

The Huguenot War Record, edited by the Rev. W. G. Cazalet, originally published in the *Proceedings*, has been reprinted in separate form, and is now on sale at 1s. 6d. per copy, post free. Only a limited number has been printed, and the Council would be glad of the opportunity of including in a further revised edition any additional particulars that Fellows may care to send in.

It is hoped that during July an opportunity will be afforded for Fellows to meet a party representing the Huguenots of America, which is visiting Europe this summer, in connection with the Huguenot-Walloon Tercentenary Celebrations at New York next year. Arrangements are contemplated whereby some of the party, who will be making a preliminary tour in England, will be entertained at the French Hospital.

The Treasurer's Accounts for the year ended December 31, 1922, duly audited by the Society's Auditors, are appended to this Report. Although an excess of expenditure over income of £68 17s. 4d. is recorded, the Balance-Sheet shows a cash balance of £92 16s. 6d., and total invested funds valued at £2321 11s. 2d.

The close of the Session marks the termination of the Presidency of Mr. W. Wyatt-Paine. The retiring President has been unremitting in the conscientious fulfilment of his duties, and it is worthy of special note that he has presided at every meeting and dinner during the three years of his term of office. His contributions to the discussions at the various meetings, always so happily expressed, have revealed a rare fund of scholarship.

It is with regret that the Council reports the termination of the Honorary Secretaryship of Colonel Duncan G. Pitcher, who, after holding this office for fourteen years, has felt obliged to cease his active work for the Society, on account of taking up his residence in another of the British Isles. Colonel Pitcher became Honorary Secretary in 1909, in succession to

ABSTRACT OF TREASURER'S ACCOUNT WITH THE HUGENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON. INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT, DECEMBER 31, 1922.

430

PROCEEDINGS OF

<i>Expenditure.</i>		<i>Income.</i>	
1922.	Dr.	1922.	Cr.
To Publications	£ 361 16 0	By Subscriptions	£ 312 6 6
„ Salaries	65 5 0	„ Entrance Fees	5 5 0
„ Printing and Stationery	22 3 9	„ Sale of Publications	22 18 9
„ Sundries	33 13 9	„ Interest	63 10 11
		„ Special Donation	10 0 0
		„ Excess of Expenditure over Income	68 17 4
	<u>£482 18 6</u>		<u>£482 18 6</u>

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31, 1922.

<i>Liabilities.</i>		<i>Assets.</i>	
1922.	Dr.	1922.	Cr.
To Composition Fees Capital	£ 1488 18 8	By Investments, namely :	
„ Browning Fund Capital	100 0 0	On <i>Composition Fees Fund Account</i>	
„ Browning Fund Income :	£ 32 5 11	£1196 6s. 11d. Five Per Cent.	£ 1196 6s. 11d.
Balance brought forward	3 13 8	War Inscribed Stock 1929-47.1488 18 8	
Interest added in 1922		On <i>General Fund Account</i>	
		£364 16s. 1d. Five Per Cent.	£364 16s. 1d.
„ Subscriptions paid in advance	12 12 0	War Inscribed Stock 1929-47. 332 12 6 ¹	
„ Special Donation for 1923-4 paid in advance	20 0 0	£100 Five- and -Three- Quarter Per Cent. Exchange Bond 1925	£100 0 0
„ Balance brought forward	844 2 3	£300 On Deposit at Bank	£300 0 0
Less irrecoverable	14 3 6	On <i>Browning Fund Account</i>	
	<u>829 18 9</u>	£105 5s. 3d. Five Per Cent.	£105 5s. 3d.
Deduct excess of Expenditure over Income	68 17 4	War Inscribed Stock 1929-47. 100 0 0	
	<u>761 1 5</u>		<u>2321 11 2²</u>
		„ Subscriptions in arrear	4 4 0
		„ Cash at Bank :	
		Browning Fund	35 19 7
		General Fund	56 16 11
	<u>£2418 11 8</u>		<u>92 16 6</u>
			<u>£2418 11 8</u>

¹ Includes £132 12s. 6d. of Endowment Fund, invested in £154 5s. 7d. Five Per Cent. War Inscribed Stock 1929-47.
² Worth on Dec. 31, 1922, @ middle prices, £2071 11s. 6d.

the late Mr. R. S. Faber, and during his long tenure of the position had the interests of the Society always at heart and spared no efforts for its welfare and advancement.

The Council, in the name of the Society, wishes to express its grateful thanks to Mr. A. Hervé Browning for his services in the responsible position of Treasurer during the year, and to Messrs. W. Minet and W. Grellier for kindly acting as Honorary Auditors, and to Mr. S. R. Roget, who since November has acted as Deputy Honorary Secretary during the absence of Colonel Pitcher. It also desires to place on record the devoted way in which the Assistant Secretary, Mr. M. S. Giuseppi, has carried out his task both at a time when the work was exceptionally heavy during the absence of the Honorary Secretary and in the midst of private troubles, in which he has the heartfelt sympathy of every Fellow of the Society.

A Ballot was taken for the Officers and Council for the ensuing Session, with the following result :—

Officers and Council for the year May 1923 to May 1924.

President.—Sir Robert A. McCall, K.C.V.O., K.C.

Vice-Presidents.—The Right Hon. The Earl of Radnor ; George Beaumont Beeman ; William Minet, F.S.A. ; Sir William Wyndham Portal, Bart., F.S.A. ; Charles Pointz Stewart, F.S.A.Scot. ; Wyatt Wyatt-Paine, F.S.A.

Members of Council.—Rev. William George Cazalet ; Thomas Colyer Colyer-Fergusson ; Robert William Dibdin ; Alfred Edward Duchesne ; Sir W. Everard B. ffolkes, Bart. ; Edward Heathcote Lefroy ; W. H. Manchée ; Ernest Carrington Ouvry, F.S.A. ; Sir William J. Collins, K.C.V.O. ; Richard Arthur Austen-Leigh ; Charles Edmund Lart, F.R.Hist.S. ; and Allan Ogier Ward, M.D.

Treasurer.—Arthur Hervé Browning.

Honorary Secretary.—Samuel Romilly Roget.

The President then read his Address as follows :—

ADDRESS TO THE THIRTY-NINTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
OF THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON, BY WYATT
WYATT-PAINE, F.S.A., PRESIDENT.

THERE are certain books which are not books, and there are certain statements and reports which it seems almost impossible

to make even moderately interesting ; and I am going to give you to-night an exemplification of a statement or report and its superiority as a sedative 'to poppy or mandragora or all the drowsy syrups of the world.' Someone has said 'Happy is the nation that has no history.' But that observation does not apply to a Society like ours. Societies must either progress or retrograde. And the circumstance that the Record of this year is not very dissimilar from that which preceded it fills me, not with apprehension, but with an uncomfortable sort of feeling that we have not risen to our opportunities—have not advanced so much as we should have done. We want vigorous, new and young life in our Society, and I do most emphatically ask every Fellow to further the interests of this most deserving and useful Association by advertising its valuable work and obtaining additions to its list of members. During the year we have had three excellent papers. On Wednesday, November 8, 1922, Mr. William Minet, F.S.A., gave a paper entitled 'Toleration' ; on Wednesday, January 10, 1923, Mr. C. E. Lart, F.R.Hist.S., read a paper on 'Human Documents : Notes from French Protestant Registers and other Sources' ; and on Wednesday, March 14, 1923, Sir Wm. J. Collins, K.C.V.O., M.D., F.R.C.S., gave a paper entitled 'Some Notes on Sir Samuel Romilly and Étienne Dumont.' Each of these 'feasts of reason' was preceded by a dinner and followed by a discussion.

The publications of the Society, which have always been one of its strong points, have this year, if anything, been above the average, both as regards quality and quantity, and I think your Council is to be congratulated on the excellent and ample fare it has supplied to you. The publications comprise : *Proceedings*, Vol. XII, No. 4, containing, *inter alia*, 'The Huguenot War Record,' which has since been separately reprinted ; *Publications*, Vol. XXVI, *Registers of the French Churches of the Savoy, Spring Gardens and Les Grecs*, by William and Susan Minet ; *Publications*, Vol. XXVII, the long-looked-for *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization of Aliens in England and Ireland, 1701–1800*, by William A. Shaw, Litt.D. The exchange publications received by us from sister associations include *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protes-*

tantisme Français and *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire Vaudoise*.

We have elected, according to the reckoning of the Hon. Secretary, six new Fellows, and I am sorry to say we have lost by resignation nine Fellows. Now we must all of us do our very best to remedy the result of these defections. Death has taken from us eight Fellows :—

ALFRED MARSHALL JAY, joined 1910, died March 1922.

COLONEL MORGAN JAMES SAURIN, an original Fellow, died May 1922. He was connected with the families of Saurin, de Tournière, Bouton, Vignolles, and several other Huguenot families.

HENRY OBRÉ, C.B.E., joined 1898, died July 12, 1922. Was connected with the family of Aubrey.

WILLIAM JOSEPH HENRY LE FANU, joined 1903, died in India, January 21, 1923. Connected with the families of Le Fanu, Raboteau, La Mièrre de Basly, and many others of Huguenot origin.

SAMUEL JOHN BLACKWELL, joined 1887, died January 26, 1923.

WILLIAM DANIEL CRONIN, joined 1902, died July 23, 1923, aged 84.

MRS. JULIET MYLNE, J.P., joined 1907, died March 18, 1923. Connected with Huguenot families of Michelet, de Jovas, de Teissier, Aubert, de la Pierre, and de la Rue.

COLONEL AISLABIE LANDON, who joined us so long ago as November 1885, died on the 2nd of this month at the age of 80. He was connected with many Huguenot families, including, besides that of Landon, Bonnau, Boutet, du Pré, Jamet, Le Fevre, Porcher, and Wagné.

And now I am going to talk to you about a book which our very good friend, Mr. Poyntz Stewart, has presented to the library of the Huguenot Society. It is entitled *Mémoires sur la Guerre des Cévennes*. If the cradle of our race was a garden it was, according to the Mosaic account, from the rugged summit of a mountain of Armenia that the survivors of the great flood descended to re-people the devastated earth. Mountain tops have always been invested with a peculiar idea of sanctity, and immemorial association has ever made their

snowy crests amongst the most revered of earth's altars to its Creator; perhaps, because, alike at morn and eve, the virgin peaks flame rosy crimson with the glory of the rising and setting sun. There is something in the fresh, pure air of the hills which has always inspired the hearts of men with the love of liberty. As that inspired lover of civil and religious freedom, Milton, says, 'In thy right hand lead with thee The mountain nymph sweet Liberty.'

It was in a narrow pass of their native Trachinian hills that the remnant of the three hundred of Thermopylæ, under a leader of the stock of Hercules (Leonidas), died for Sparta. It was from the mountains of Judea that the deliverer, with his handful, shouting 'the sword of the Lord and of Gideon,' overthrew the armies of the alien. And it was among the hills and forests and rushing waters of that wild country lying to the north-east of Nîmes and Montpellier that a few score of half-armed peasants, under the leadership of a boy of twenty years of age named Jean Cavalier (born on November 28, 1681, at the tiny hamlet of Mas-Roux, in the Commune of Ribaut), defied, and successfully defied, the assembled legions of the Most Christian King of France, Louis XIV, surnamed 'The Great.' It is a curious country, that of Cévennes. A great writer has described some of its fastnesses in his own inimitable fashion, and its history is as remarkable as are its mountains, its deserts, its forests, and its tumbling and brawling torrents. Its people, cherishing memories of a heroic past, have traditions of struggles for religious faith and freedom long antecedent to the days of Luther and Calvin. In the darkest days of superstition and credulity, when the power of the Bishops of Rome, to bind and to loose all things in heaven and on earth, was an almost unquestioned article of faith, these stubborn French Highlanders refused to acknowledge the Papal supremacy; and Innocent III (174th Bishop of Rome), in the year of Christ 1214, preached a crusade against them and raised an army, some say, of 500,000 men. The barbarities committed by this force (at one time under the command of Simon de Montfort) are thus recounted by Bower in his *History of the Popes*. 'The inhabitants, alike Catholic and Protestant, were all most cruelly massacred by the holy

warriors without distinction of sex or age. To be sure that they spared no heretic, they spared none at all, but put all to the sword indiscriminately.' In this war three score thousand persons are said to have been sacrificed to the fury of the orthodox army—Simon de Montfort deeming, apparently, that the glory of the Creator was sufficient pretext for the extermination of countless thousands of the inhabitants of these rocky fastnesses and forests who counted not their lives dear unto them 'because of the faith which was in them.' History repeats itself in a curiously monotonous fashion; whatever has been will be again, until the dawn of that period which Rabelais calls the 'Coming of the Cocquigrues,' but which our own greatest sacred poet more aptly terms 'The day of restitution of the Just.' In the Russia of to-day, with its insensate hatred alike of the laws of God and of man, we see a curious recrudescence of the Terror in France at the close of the eighteenth century when, amidst a holocaust of victims on the scaffold, a woman of easy virtue sat enthroned as the goddess of Reason in the Temple of God. And it requires no special descent into the Cave of Trophonius to predict that before a decade of years has passed we shall see in Russia, as was seen in France, a renaissance of time-honoured belief in religion and a return to systems of civil government based on probity in business and morality in private life.

So in the rugged valleys of the Cévennes, about which I want to talk to you to-night, the early years of the eighteenth century brought to the Reformed church enshrined in the countless little villages and hamlets which lay half-hidden in the woodlands of the country a fierce recrudescence of persecution. Without believing, as some assert, that towards the close of his life Louis XIV became a member of the Confraternity of Jesus, there can be no question that this monarch, urged by the solicitations of the Romish priesthood and the more potent endearments of Madame de Maintenon, and possibly also by the selfish desire to heap up works of supererogation, decreed uniformity of religion throughout his dominions. He perhaps deemed, like some modern German war lord, that hecatombs of the slain were a pleasant savour in the nostrils of the Lord of Sabaoth; but, be that as it may, in any case

he sent into the Cévennes certain of his legions for the avowed purpose of suppressing heresy by the cogent arguments of fire and sword. But, as Jean Cavalier, the hero of to-night's paper, says, 'Persecutors may easily demolish our Temples, disperse our congregations and torture our bodies, but they cannot subdue the conscience and souls of those of whom God alone is the Lord and Master.'

Jean Cavalier, as I have already said, was born in a little village about five or six leagues north-east of Nîmes, in the Commune of Ribaut. His father, the village baker, was one of those easy-going men who are quite willing to trim the sails of their conscience to every wind of doctrine. So he went to Mass for the rest of his household and cheerfully paid for the tuition of his family in a Roman Catholic seminary. But Jean's mother was made of sterner stuff and early instilled into his mind the principles of the Reformed Faith, exemplifying the truth of the lament of Fléchier, Bishop of Nîmes, that 'the home lessons nullify the school teaching, and the catechising of fathers and mothers pulls down at night all that the masters and church catechists have built up in the day.' Vainly the priests—threatening severe penalties—forbade reformed pastors to preach to, or parents to discuss religion with, their children. More and more stringent measures were resorted to, and the gibbet or the galleys soon deprived the little assemblies of the Reformed of their pastors. But, nobly catching the torches of faith from the dying grasp of its martyrs, other hands and other lips bore the high tradition on. Prominent among these noble confessors one Claude Brousson, an advocate of the Parliament of Toulouse, consecrated himself to the sacred cause and, exhorting the members of the flock which gathered around him in the deserts and caves, heartened their courage by his example and teaching until the day when he, like his predecessors, sealed his faith with his blood. (He was broken on the wheel at Montpellier on October 4, 1699. Round the scaffold were placed twenty drummers, who beat incessantly on their drums until he died, so fearful were his judges of what he might say to the surrounding crowd.) It is almost axiomatic that if one sits on the safety-valve of an engine something is bound to blow up.

Louis the Great, as his contemporaries flatteringly called him, discovered during the latter years of his reign that by the operation of some inevitable law his early glory had been eclipsed and his laurels withered by the lurid glare of religious persecution. He had seen poured out upon his kingdom the vials of retribution. The three dread scourges of Heaven—war, pestilence, and famine—had successively devastated the fair land of France. For ‘though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small.’

At last, in the wild country of the Cévennes, the long-smouldering embers of disaffection on the one hand and of furious persecution on the other burst into sudden flame. As history has again and again demonstrated: ‘man’s necessity is the Divine opportunity’; and opportunity on this occasion envisualised itself in the baker’s son of Mas-Roux. I wish I could give you more than a sketchy account of this boy who (invested with powers of life and death) at the age of twenty was unanimously elected by his compeers commander-in-chief of the Insurrectionary Army of the Southern Cévennes, and who wrung at length from the haughtiest monarch of Europe a measure of religious toleration. For quite a long time expediency and the strong compulsion of his father had kept him in outward conformity to the Roman Church. But his sympathies had always been with the Reformers, and after the execution of Brousson, whose death he says ‘was consistent with his life, his constancy drawing tears from the eyes of the executioner himself,’ he flatly refused to tamper longer with the accursed thing. A long succession of pastors who attained, from the fierce ordeal of the wheel, or the gallows, or the fiery chariot of the stake, the rare and high glory of the martyr’s crown, followed Brousson, whilst their attending congregations were decimated by fire and sword. Cavalier, who was already a marked man, though then only nineteen years of age, escaped to Geneva, and as a punishment for his evasion his father was condemned to perpetual exile at Carcassonne, and his mother to imprisonment in the horrible Tour de Constance at Aigues Mortes. In order to rescue them Jean, although proscribed and homeless, returned to his native village. He there learnt that in a neighbouring village (Pont de Montvert) the village

priest, Abbé du Chayla, daily tortured some wretched villagers of the Reformed faith whom he had immured in a large cellar underneath his house. I will not wring your hearts by describing the infamous machine which he employed ; suffice it to say the result was to disarticulate the fingers and toes of his unfortunate victims. In order to effect their rescue a party of young men, of whom Cavalier was one, some armed with pistols and two or three with muskets, marched to Pont de Montvert, singing the 68th Psalm (' Let God arise and let His enemies be scattered ') as they went. Arrived at their destination, they laid siege to the priest's house, demanding the release of the prisoners, and assured the Abbé that if he gave them up they would go away peaceably. The priest at once ordered his attendants to fire upon them, with the result that two of his assailants were killed and several wounded. Cavalier and his companions thereupon stormed the house and rescued the prisoners, whose limbs had been broken by the torture. The priest trying to escape through a back window was captured, and like most bullies showed himself an arrant coward. Falling on his knees, he cried for mercy and begged for life ; but enraged at the pitiful condition of his victims, they shot him after according him a quarter of an hour's grace to make his peace with Heaven. This event may be regarded as the declaration of war between the Insurgents and the Royal forces. And if ever war was capable of justification, this war was justified. It was entered into, according to Cavalier, to avoid attending Mass, to escape persecution, for leave to worship God according to His law, and for legitimation of Protestant marriages. These were the principal reasons for taking up arms. At no time were the Protestants inimical to the monarchy. ' Give us religious freedom and we are the most faithful of your Majesty's subjects ' was the emphatic utterance of them all. That excesses were committed there is no doubt, and the frailty of human nature is not an excuse, as some modern politicians seem to think, for atrocities. But though not an adequate excuse for excesses, it is something in palliation that, as far as the Reformed were concerned, all their acts were reprisals for an antecedent transgression, and the Reformed army was not a

levy of wholesale robbers and murderers, which is more than can be said for the Royal forces. And now, after this all too long exordium, I am going to let Cavalier tell you some of his adventures, and as nearly as I am able to translate the account of them in his own language.

‘On December 26, 1702,’ he says, ‘we assembled about midday in a wood near Vezénobres in order seriously to discuss the question of electing a commander. Many voted for Rastelet, who was a very bold and experienced warrior, but after half an hour’s discussion I was unanimously chosen, chiefly, I believe, because the advice I had given on the preceding day had resulted in such a glorious victory. I was very much taken aback at the result, and did all I could to excuse myself on the score of inexperience and youth; but it was all useless—my comrades insisted on my taking the command. At length, overcome by their entreaties, I told them sharply that if they would have me for their leader they must swear implicitly to obey me. They all vowed to do this and solemnly invested me with absolute power of life and death over them, without appeal to court-martial. I may say, however, I have never exercised this power without first consulting six of my principal officers. Some days later I marched to Lusan and encountered *en route* a detachment of about forty men proceeding to Italy. We killed several, including the captain, and put the others to flight. In searching the dead, one of my men found in the tunic pocket of the officer an order signed by the Comte de Broglie, Lieutenant-General of the Forces of the King, and countersigned by Baville, Governor of the Province, addressed to all mayors and other officials on the line of route, commanding them, in the King’s name, to provide board and lodging for the detachment. Upon this being brought to me I thought out a daring and dangerous scheme, and resolved to risk everything on its success. Perched upon a precipitous rock near the road from Uzès to Arduse, which I had often to traverse, is the Castle of Privas. It was impregnable and well guarded by a blustering crowd of persecutors who, besides hindering our movements by warning the enemy of our comings and goings, had in cold blood killed many Protestants in the neighbouring villages; so I was most desirous of removing this thorn in the flesh. But as we had neither scaling-ladders nor cannon, nor opportunity to lay a regular siege to the place, I determined to use the order found in the pocket of the dead officer as a pass key to unlock the castle door. For this purpose I selected six of my best men, including one whose shirt sleeve was still covered with blood from a wound

he had received in our latest fight. Binding their hands with ropes, I placed them in front of my main force, in charge of twelve stout comrades dressed up as Royal soldiers in tunics and hats taken from the dead troopers. Thus disguised, we marched into the village of Plons, hard by the castle. I went to the mayor's house and told him I was the Count de Broglie's nephew and that on my march to Cévennes I had encountered and soundly defeated a detachment of the insurgents, capturing the six prisoners which he saw in the hands of my men. I added they must be put in a secure place for the night, as I was afraid they would be rescued by their comrades and I wanted to send them on to my uncle, who would have them immediately broken upon the wheel. I further explained that, as the village was so exposed, they must be put in the castle until the morning, when I would call for them before setting out. I further requested him to go to the governor on my behalf and, above all, mention the order signed by the Count de Broglie and M. de Baviile, which I allowed him to read. As soon as he saw the names of these great men he ran to inform the governor, whilst I followed in a leisurely fashion. The governor, like a prudent man, decided to leave nothing to chance and came out to meet me accompanied by a strong guard. As soon as I saw him I hastened forward, accompanied by my pretended prisoners and their guard, leaving the rest of my men far in the rear. After the usual civilities he asked to see the order, which I at once produced, and then, looking at the prisoners and especially at the fresh blood on the sleeve of one of them, he remarked "You are most welcome! I sincerely congratulate you on your victory. The prisoners will be quite safe in the dungeon, and as for yourself, I shall be delighted if you will be my guest for the night." I thanked him for his hospitality, and ordered my guard to conduct the prisoners to the dungeon. And then, excusing myself for a few minutes, went out and drew up my forces just outside the castle gate. I was back in a quarter of an hour, accompanied by two of my officers, also in disguise, and whilst supper was being laid the governor showed us over the castle, which was of enormous strength. "I may tell you," said he, "it was once besieged by the Duc de Rohan, but after closely investing it for twelve days he raised the siege in despair, so I think I can hold it against these wretched peasants." Whilst we were at supper, as I had arranged, a good many more of my soldiers, fully armed, strolled into the castle on one pretext or another, until at a given signal the gates were flung open, my forces rushed in, the governor was seized, and he and the whole of the garrison put to the sword as a just reward for their abominable cruelties. We

took enormous booty of arms, munitions of war, and provisions, and, before leaving the fortress, which we thought we had stripped, we set it on fire. But there was a whole magazine of powder which we had overlooked. And, when less than a mile off, there was a terrific explosion, shattering the walls and towers to atoms and ruining the entire place.'

A little further on in the book Cavalier tells us the origin of the word Camisard, by which appellation the Protestants were known throughout the Cévennes. He says :

'It was at Ganges that this title was first given to us, for the following reason. As a rule, our people had only two shirts—one on, the other in the knapsack. When among friends we left the soiled one with them, as we had not time to wash it. But when in a hostile town, like Ganges, which was occupied by surprise, we were accustomed to take clean linen from the residents and leave our worn-out shirts in place of them. When the Protestant forces had left Ganges, and the inhabitants were a little settled down, they noticed this exchange of old clothes for new and, whilst some cursed and swore, others were only too glad that the "Camisards," as henceforward they called us, had not taken their skins instead of their shirts.'

Camise, I may say, is the local patois for shirt.

I have taken, almost at haphazard, accounts of various encounters between the Camisards and the Royal forces. Here is a thrilling description of one between a renegade from the Reformed faith of the name of Julien, nicknamed Julien the Apostate by his former co-religionists, and Cavalier. The latter says :

'Julien would not attack us in the open, because he was afraid the attempt would end as unluckily as had that of the Baron de Lagorce. So he fixed up an ambush by placing, at the entrance of the wood, a detachment of grenadiers supported by a troop of infantry which were hidden from view by bushes, and on either wing he posted dragoons. Julien, with the rest of his forces, took up a strong position and there waited for us. Seeing that he would not attack, I thought he had no more soldiers than those in view and, as I had only a day or two before gained a complete victory over a commander who was quite as brave, I determined to give battle. We advanced in good order and commenced fighting with great vigour. Too late I perceived the ambuscade, for the

grenadiers who were hidden in the wood, with some other detachments which owing to the deep snow (it was near the end of December) could not be seen, attacked us in the rear, whilst yet another squadron of grenadiers assailed our right flank. Thus attacked on all sides, after putting up a gallant fight under a hail-storm of bullets, we were at last driven back and, after a mighty effort, succeeded in gaining a little wood which by a happy providence, lay hard by on our left. The terrible weather and our extreme fatigue contributed much to our defeat, for our water-sodden weapons were quite useless. As for me, I escaped from capture by what I believe to be an especial providence. At the commencement of the battle I was on horseback and cheered on my men until our right flank was attacked by the enemy's grenadiers, when I jumped off my horse and, running far ahead in the hope that my soldiers would follow, found myself alone in the midst of the enemy. To avoid capture, I made off, with the grenadiers after me, as hard as I could go for a neighbouring wood. After I had gained the trees the pursuit continued right into the heart of the thicket, and what with exhaustion and the heavy snow, which made going so difficult, I feared I must inevitably be taken. Two grenadiers in particular pressed me so closely as I stopped a second to draw a brace of pistols from my belt, that the foremost one almost clutched my arm. But twisting suddenly round I disengaged myself, and firing point-blank killed him on the spot. His companion, seeing his comrade fall and my other pistol covering him, made off in a hurry and thus allowed me a little breathing-space, which came none too soon, for I was almost dead with weariness.

'But this was not the end of my misfortunes, for the soldiers began beating the wood, and as the river banks were under water I could not get across and thus avoid falling into their hands. However, something had to be done, for to stay was to court certain disaster, so, penetrating farther into the wood, I suddenly came upon four of my own men. But our mutual joy was very short-lived, for half an hour later I saw, not far off, a troop of grenadiers searching for us. These were the soldiers who, in accordance with Julien's orders, had, early in the fight, concealed themselves in the wood to cut off all retreat. When I saw them I was seized with a fit of despair, as escape seemed impossible; yet nevertheless we determined to fight to the last, if we could in no possible way evade their clutches. In our extremity we crouched down in a matted thicket of snow-covered bushes on the top of a rock which afforded some sort of shelter from the biting wind.

To our delight, beneath these bushes we found a sort of cavern in which we ensconced ourselves, our tracks being soon entirely obliterated by the thick-falling snow. Here we rested until night-fall, when I sallied out to see if any more of my men had escaped. Next morning we perceived Julien's soldiers still camped on the field of battle, succouring their wounded and searching for us; and as it still snowed heavily we could not move, as our tracks would be at once discovered. My trouble was great and as I thought our last hour had come, I poured out my soul in fervent and submissive prayer. But I did not let my men know all my fears, and I heartened them as much as possible by saying that things were not desperate, though if the worst came to the worst, it was better to fall fighting in a just and righteous quarrel into the hands of God than into the hands of man; and that it was more glorious to die fighting than to be broken on the wheel or burnt alive. And so, having passed through the bitterness of death, we moved out of our shelter, with the snow around us and the enemy in wait for us. But, "This truth of old was sorrow's friend, When things are worst they're sure to mend."

'I haply discovered hard by a little watercourse, and, wading up this watery pathway, which afforded our enemies no trace of our footprints, for about an hour, we at last found ourselves in a deep ravine hollowed out by the torrent, the entry to which was almost sealed by brushwood washed down by the hungry water. Here, protecting ourselves as well as we could by the overhanging boughs, we hid for more than twelve hours, although almost perishing with cold and hunger. Seeing that for two days nothing had passed our lips and our retreat was so chilly and wet, we were fain to die of famine and wretchedness. All the time we could see the enemy searching for us—now here and now there—and we were in such a state of alarm that rest was impossible. Thus the dreary hours dragged on, each a month long, until at last, with nightfall, the enemy finally retired, and we returned heartfelt and solemn thanks to Him who heard our prayers and blinded the eyes of our enemies.'

Of course the book from which I am quoting is all alarums and excursions and I don't want to weary you by recounting too many of Cavalier's 'hairbreadth 'scapes i' the imminent deadly breach,' so this will be my last. He says, speaking of another encounter:

'Whilst we were thus engaged in prayer a scout told me that the Regiment of Firmacon with a detachment of infantry were

advancing to attack us.' (The Camisards, when the alarm was given, had been assembled together for divine worship, and a number of women were included amongst the congregation.) [He proceeds] 'My force was but small, for I had sent several detachments to the rear, and besides I was hampered terribly by the crowd of unarmed worshippers. But there was no time for deliberation, to say nothing of the impossibility of retreating without risking the lives of the defenceless people, who would certainly have been assassinated by our relentless enemies. So, placing my men in a commanding position, I mounted my horse and started off to reconnoitre. Returning by what I thought was a short cut I was suddenly confronted by a cornet and two dragoons, who had concealed their horses behind some trees. Retreat was impossible, so, giving myself up for lost, I determined to sell my life as dearly as I could, for I was both well mounted and well armed. The cornet rode towards me, shouting "You are Cavalier! Surrender and you shall have quarter." Calling out "Never!" I took aim with my carbine and shot him through the heart. Dropping the gun, I drew my pistols. Just then the dragoons fired and, missing me, rushed at me with their sabres. I shot the first as he approached, and the second ducked and ran away; but my bullet was much quicker than his running. Returning to my men, I found that, in accordance with my orders, they had ensconced themselves behind a wall at the top of a rock. My chief anxiety was for the women, some of whom began screaming as the enemy opened fire. But Divine Providence gave such courage to the rest that they not only cheered on the men, but, hurling showers of stones, actually rushed upon the enemy and largely contributed to our success, though we were but 400 men all told, and they had at least double that number. At length the enemy retired, losing over a hundred slain, whilst we had only six killed and eight wounded. The women were never so valiant as in this fight: mothers encouraged their sons and wives their husbands, calling out "Charge for God and the King! Down with the priests!" One young girl of eighteen named Lucrece Guignon, jumping over the wall, snatched a sabre from a wounded dragoon, and shouting "Hurrah for the sword of God!" cut and thrust to such purpose among the enemy that actually none could withstand her. In fact, in the enemy's official report, it was stated that among the Camisards were some men dressed up as women who fought like very devils.'

Time went on, the conflict between the Insurgent army and the Royal forces continued with varying success, the

brilliant military capacity of Cavalier enabling his men to continue the unequal struggle between the two combatants. But at length, in the midst of his forests, he received the terrible news that the Pope had joined forces with the King—the spiritual arm coming to the assistance of the rather shaky terrestrial biceps of Louis. The Bull which is rather curious reads thus :

‘Clement XI, servant of the servants of our God, to our well-beloved son in Christ, Ambrose Bishop of Alais, health and divine blessing. We are unable to express our extreme displeasure on learning from the most honourable Ambassador of France that the heretics of the Cévennes, the accursed offspring of the ancient Albigenes, have at last taken up arms against the Church and the King. However, with the object of staying the spread of this detestable plague, which we had hoped would have been already destroyed by the piety of Louis the Great, we have deemed it meet to follow the laudable example of our predecessors in like case. And for this purpose we enjoin and command the faithful to exterminate this accursed race of evil-doers who throughout all ages have been enemies alike of God and of Cæsar. Wherefore, by virtue of the power to bind and to loose, which our Saviour bestowed on the chief of the apostles, we voluntarily grant and award entire absolution from every sin to all those enlisting in this holy army who may be killed in battle. And with this object we ordain that this Bull, sealed with the seal of the Fisherman, shall be posted on all the church doors of your diocese, so that the profanity of these madmen may no longer prevail. Given at Rome on this 1st day of May of the year of our Lord, 1703, and the 4th of our Pontificate.’

But neither the squadrons of Louis could suppress, nor the thunders of Rome daunt or curb, the indomitable spirit of these mountaineers who, by constant warfare, had been gradually moulded into a formidable nation of warriors, although constant attrition was gradually reducing their numbers. Besides, as the French sovereign was well aware, there was an ever-increasing danger of foreign intervention in favour of the Camisards. Louis was afraid of the arms of England. And the England of William III and of Anne was a serious foe to be reckoned with.

And now I come to a very perplexing part of my story. It was evident that force could not subdue the spirit of the Cévennes. Cavalier declared his troops would never lay down their arms unless freedom of conscience was accorded to them. 'We will,' said he, 'suffer a thousand deaths rather than abandon our faith.' Whilst, on the other hand, both Marshal de Villars, who was in command of the Royal forces, and Baviile, Governor of the Province, knowing the haughty pride of Louis, felt sure he would never yield on the question of religious liberty. D'Aigaliers says in his *Souvenirs* that, having put the question to Chammillart, the Minister replied 'What! re-establish the Reformed Faith, as it is called? Why, Louis would rather sacrifice his kingdom.' So here anew was the old problem of the irresistible force and the immovable post. But the end was near. In April 1704 a terrific encounter took place between the Camisards and the Royal troops, in which the former were defeated with great loss, and this disaster was followed by another. Cavalier says :

'Some traitor informed General La Lande that there was an old woman in the village of de Yeuzet who was in our confidence and knew all about our hiding-places. Without delay the general arrested her. But she denied everything, and neither promises nor threats would induce her to open her mouth. Seeing nothing would move her he ordered her straightway to be hanged. But the sight of the gallows was too much for the poor old body's constancy, and she promised to make a clean breast of it if her life was spared. Reconducted to the general, he gave her his word of honour that no ill should befall her if she showed him our hiding-places and magazines. Accompanied by a strong guard, she led them to a cavern which we used as a hospital, and in which were twelve of our wounded, incapable of any resistance. These were butchered on the spot. They next went to our subterranean armoury, powder magazines, and mills, for we made our own gunpowder, and all these they totally destroyed—the most disastrous loss I had yet sustained. Before, I had had always some resources and munitions of war; but now everything was gone, and my hopes of successful resistance with them.'

The situation being thus, in the opinion of Cavalier, desperate, he took a desperate measure. He says :

‘I had often received letters from very exalted persons pressing me to make peace with the King, and promising me all sorts of personal advantages, but hitherto, in spite of our miserable situation, I had always refused to discuss the question. I now received a most pressing letter from the Marquis La Lande inviting me to a conference: it contained an absolute safe-conduct and an assurance that if no agreement was arrived at, I should be permitted freely to return to my own people, but adding that if I refused his offer, I should be an enemy of peace and responsible alike to God and man for all the blood that would hereafter flow.’

After very considerable hesitation and delay on Cavalier’s part negotiations for a truce were entered into upon an equal basis as high contracting powers between Cavalier, the village baker’s son, Le Maréchal Villars (the commander-in-chief of the Royal forces in the Cévennes), and Lamoignon de Baville (governor of the province), with the result that on May 17 1704, a Treaty granting liberty of conscience was signed by the contracting powers, in the most solemn and formal manner. To the lasting dishonour of Louis and his advisers, who evidently believed no faith need be kept with heretics, this absolutely binding promise was never properly fulfilled, and much obloquy has been cast upon Cavalier for temporising with so perfidious a monarch. Shortly after, Cavalier, who was now high in favour with the Court, was awarded a life pension of 1500 livres (7500 francs), and had a private audience with the King, at which (if what he says is correct) Louis heard some very home-truths. Such, in very sketchy outline, is the history of the war in the Cévennes from its inception until its termination by the Treaty of Nîmes.

The subsequent history of Cavalier was as adventurous as that which I have recounted. A born warrior, he seems to have been a regular soldier of fortune—a successor to the *condottiere* of Italy. At the disastrous battle of Almanza—against insurmountable odds—he led his regiment with his usual brilliancy and valour. Later on in life he entered the British service. In 1735 he attained the rank of brigadier, on March 25, 1738, he was appointed Governor of Jersey, and on July 26, 1739, was promoted to the rank of major-general.

A year later Cavalier died at Chelsea. In the registry of deaths at St. Luke's, Chelsea, is the entry :

Burials, May 1740.
John Cavalier, Brigadier.

The best epitaph on John Cavalier (the young peasant of the Cévennes) is that he personified in himself the most sacred and heroic of all causes—by defending liberty of conscience during the reign of the most tyrannical and absolute of the many tyrannical sovereigns of France.

Human Documents: Notes from French Protestant Registers and other Sources.

By C. E. LART, F.R.Hist.S.

ONE could write a large volume, probably many large volumes, consisting only of extracts from Church Registers and kindred sources, which would be of the greatest value to the novelist—especially the historical novelist—and would provide him with endless themes and plots. History as it is taught consists chiefly of dry bones, set up as a skeleton, in proper sequence but possessing very little flesh; which is perhaps not surprising when one considers that the meat of history so far outweighs the bones and so far surpasses them in quantity and substance that the libraries of the world would be doubled and trebled in size, if a different method were adopted. One would have to select the Registers: for a large proportion of such a work would be devoted to them—since all have not the same value as historical documents: but they cannot be surpassed as such for human interest—and history with the human interest left out is of little value to a nation. Tragedy and comedy fill their pages: they cover the whole gamut of human life. Even if the tragedy and comedy are not apparent, they are there nevertheless, but now and again they leap to the eye as one turns over the pages, and soul answers soul across the years.

The English Church Registers are far less interesting as a whole than the French, though here and there where the parson or clerk has been, in a sense, one out of the common and has let his individuality guide his pen, we get lights on contemporary history which take us back into the past: history becomes a living thing, and for a moment we live in bygone times and are eye-witnesses of past events: even

if they be only parochial, belonging to places and days cut off from the outside world, far even from the coach-road and the sound of the horn. To us of Huguenot descent, the value of the Parish Register lies chiefly in what it gives us of our own ancestors. We may justly pride ourselves on the series of the Registers of the French Refugee churches in England which have now been printed, but many others remain in which the proportion of French names is very large. Some, alas, never will be printed, for they are lost. How many Huguenot Church Registers have perished! Not only in London, but throughout the country: Exeter and Taunton for instance are probably destroyed; and then the non-Parochial Registers in which must have been quantities of French names, although not in such numbers as in the Parish Register.

One of the parishes which should be of great interest is Greenwich, where the Marquis de Ruigny attracted a colony. The graveyard is full of them. Islington also contains the names of Angier, Le Noir, Rouvereu, and others. St. John at Hackney is another: fortunately its Registers have been typed, and there is a manuscript copy in the Guildhall Library. There are comparatively few marriages, probably because they took place in the Refugee London Churches, but there was a strong colony there. To take a few names at random late in the eighteenth century, one still finds the names in the Burial Register of Cahusac and Cazalet, de Beauvoir, Portal, Siordet (the name occurs also at Exeter), Savignac, Berthon, Anguish, Gerardot, Ballantyne, de Brissac, and many others; although after 1790 some must be accepted with caution, since refugees from the Revolution may account for them: there is, in fact, the entry in 1792, November 2, of the burial of 'the Rev. John Lewis Martin Le François, parish priest of Hermaville, in the diocese of Rouen, Province of Normandy, aged 57.' Whoever kept the earlier ones must have been a discerning man, and one of a good heart, moved to pay a passing tribute to the unknown dead. In 1596—'a poor woman whose name we know not, buried from the parsonage barn'—he might have written 'a vagrant female. Parish,' as so many did. Another entry is worth noting—

‘ a man found dead—he had a bald head.’ Perhaps the last words are an afterthought, a possible means of identification ; as also in the following entry : ‘ There was buried the 16th day of June, a man whose name we know not, found dead at Stourbridge with a red beard.’

It is in the closing years of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century that French names begin to appear. In 1713 was buried Josiah L'Oste, ‘ A Frenchman from London.’ ‘ James Pougnon, a French child.’ In 1725, September 21, ‘ Captain Vincent de Lamery, a Frenchman and half-pay officer, found dead in a Hackney coach from London (being drunk) was buried in the church.’ Who was Captain Vincent de Lamery ? Although he died from alcoholic excess—at least so it is alleged—we, after so many years, in spite of the disgrace he brought upon us, may wish to inquire into his history from the meagre information at our disposal. Why was he buried in the church ? We may suppose that he was a well-known inhabitant of Hackney and a man of some position ; a half-pay officer and probably one who fought in Marlborough's wars and perhaps before that in the army of the Prince of Orange. If one would inquire further, no doubt we should find him in some list of half-pay officers of the French regiments, or perhaps one might find more about him in the pages of the Hackney Registers.

Then there are the churchyards, which contain so many gravestones with French names, and mural tablets in quite unexpected places, though these are often remarkable for what they do not give, and one is at the mercy of the local stonemason. One is reminded of the infuriated genealogist who journeyed to a churchyard where he heard there was a stone which gave particulars of a family in which he was interested. Expecting to find names, ages, and possibly other details, he was confronted with the callous statement, ‘ their names are written in the Lamb's Book of Life.’ In St. Olave's Church, Exeter, is a mural tablet to Mr. Nicolas Aubin who was minister of Gravan in Saintonge : ‘ He preached 13 years last March in this St. Olaves Church. Deceased ye 3rd April 1708, aged 59 years ye 6th of January last.’

In Beaminster Church, Dorset, a remote village among

the Downs, is the following inscription : ' Near this place lies the body of Gershom Le Vieux, who died in the year of Christ 1735, in the 41st year of his age, and was the son of Theodor Le Vieux, who was born at the city of Uzès in the Lower Languedoc.' The latter was in all probability Theodore Le Vieux ' Chirurgien,' whose daughter Marguerite died at Nîmes in 1658, and who appears in the lists of inhabitants of the town in 1670 and 1672. How did his son come to live out his life in a little Dorset village ? Possibly he landed at Bridport, a few miles away, where there still exist many Huguenot names, and probably practised there.

But most interesting to us are the French Registers : especially those which contain marriages, for the marriage entries give more details than the English. The names of the father and mother, sometimes the grandfather and grandmother both of the bride and bridegroom if they happened to be persons of importance—though this is not so as a rule till well into the seventeenth century—sometimes the names of cousins and relations by marriage are given, and the names of the consenting parties on both sides. The gaps and losses in the French Registers are grievous, for hundreds of small churches have perished, the existence of which we only know by chance mentions. Saintonge and Languedoc were largely Protestant, and every town of any size had its ' Temple.' One could almost weep at the thought of the great church of Paris at Charenton, and the thousands of entries in its Registers destroyed at the Revolution. Fortunately, extensive ones remain like those of Caen, Rouen, La Rochelle and Nîmes, but even where they exist there are often gaps : this is the more regrettable in the case of large Protestant centres, where so many other churches existed in the surrounding districts. Sometimes one finds a stray volume in a Mairie ; some are to be found in the archives of a Department, here and there a few pages. The greatest destruction has occurred in the Registers of small country places, where the *prêche* was held in the Manor house or Château of the Seigneur of a *fief de plein haubert*, that is, one who exercised the ' High, Middle and Low Justice,' a concession granted in the early seventeenth century, but taken away later. It must be remembered that

the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes was only the last of a series of Edicts which took away, bit by bit, all religious freedom which had been gained under Henri IV; and the savagery of the Dragonnades and the galleys had begun long before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

The early Registers beginning in the year 1560 are interesting from the historical point of view, since they are generally marked with the Sign of the Cross, and mention the major Saint Days and Feasts, showing the state of transition, when, under the influence of the Cardinal de Chatillon and men like Michel de l'Hôpital, the fate of a national Gallican Reformed Church was hanging in the balance, and when, as at Langon in Poitou, the curé read the Epistle and the pasteur the Gospel, and the parish churches were held in joint use, the Catholics holding their service first and the 'Gospellers' holding their *prêche* after the others. This only lasts a short time, and does not survive the wars of Religion and St. Bartholomew.

There is a pathos in the following entry in the stray pages left of the Registers of the Reformed Church of Mussidan in the Angoumois, preserved in the Library of the Arsenal in Paris—which met at that date, 1620, in the Château of the Seigneur de Longua—not to be found in the pages of the more prosaic English Register.

' La Mort de Madame de Longua.

' Madame de Longua, aagée de soixante-trois ans, huit moys, et trois jours. Ayant vésue tout le temps de sa vie seinte [seinte is *erased*] très-chrétiennement, estans cognue et trouvée en effet La Lumière et se soustient de l'Eglise de Mussidan, mourant heureusement en les bras de Madame Dubuy sa troisième fille au château de Longua à dix heures du jour la Samedi xviii Janvier 1620.'

' Having found the Light ' which lightens everyone who is born into the world—but so soon and so often lost. Happy Madame de Longua to die like that before the evil days came. And happy too was little Catherine Sauveplane, aged two, who escaped from prison nearly one hundred years later: here is the extract from the Catholic Register of St. Pierre

du Vigan, in the Cévennes. Cannot one discern a touch of pity in the curé's entry? 'Catherine, fille de Jean Sauveplane, serrurier d'Aumessas, et de Marie Bertesene, mariés, agée de deux années est morte dans les prisons de cette ville, ses père et mère y estans detenus pour cause de religion (3 Juin 1704).' One out of thousands more innocent criminals who have left no chronicle of their short lives.

The Registers of Caen and La Rochelle seaports show how close was the intercourse in trade between England and France, and the numbers of English and French merchants and seafaring families who intermarried. To take an entry from Caen, dated October 2, 1669 :

'Inhumé Jean Adrians, de nation anglais, 66 ans d'environ, demeurant à Londres, estant retiré depuis quelques mois en cette ville : y est decédé, et a été mis dans un cercueil. Present Messieurs Michel Carbonnel et Henri Daniels, marchands bourgeois de Caen, ses amis, pour estre transporté en Angleterre, à la première occasion, et a esté transporté le dix dud. mois dans le batteau de Pierre Parisis de Dieppe.

L.S. M. Carbonnel. Henry Daniels.'

Or the following marriage, October 15, 1679 :

'Guillaume Stapkins, maître de bateau, fils de Guillaume Stapkins de Poole et d'Elizabeth Fooock [Ffooks], avec Susanne Tailleur, vivante à Caen depuis 12 années chez Thomas Tailleur son oncle, fille d'Alexandre Tailleur et de Marguerite Marnim, de Northampton.'

One can imagine the writhings of the scribe in his endeavour to elicit the proper spelling of the ship-captain's name, who was probably looking over his shoulder as he wrote it : for the two *annonces de mariage* give it as 'Stapkins,' and the worthy ship-master solves the difficulty for us by signing himself 'Hopkins.'

The Registers generally contain lists of abjurations which are of interest. In the years 1643 to 1648 there were fifty-one abjurations at La Rochelle itself, among which was that of a Jesuit, Pierre Jarrige, native of Tulle in the Limousin, who renounced his monastic vows and declared before the Consistoire 'qu'il se range de pleine affection à la foy et com-

munion des Eglises Reformées de ce Royaume, avec resolution ferme d'y perseverer, moyennant l'aide de Dieu, jusqu'à son dernier soupir.' For this act he was condemned to be hanged, his body burned and his ashes cast to the winds (17 Juin 1648). As he apparently escaped, this was carried out in effigy on the Place de Château, on July 11, 1648.

On March 2, 1685 :

' Mustapha, fils de Caialé, natif d'Alger, aage de 20 ans ou environ, apres avoir renoncé publiquement aux impietez de l'Imposteur Mahomet, et embrasée la Religion Chrestienne, avec protestation solennelle de vouloir vivre et mourir en la profession de la verité enseignée en nos Eglises a été baptisé, suivant l'ordre des Synodes Nationaux, par Maistre Flanc, qui lui a donné le nom de Pierre.'

He was probably a captive taken from an Algerine Corsair.

After 1685 the prisons and the parish churches were full : the prisons, because all who refused to abjure were arrested, and the churches, because thousands who had not the strength to resist abjured—became ' Nouveaux Catholiques,' in contradistinction to the ' Anciens Catholiques.'

Interest in France and the affairs of the families left there does not necessarily cease from our point of view, for the greater part of those who abjured by *force majeure* did so with the idea of escaping later, and though the greater number of fugitives had escaped before 1685, especially during the ten years preceding the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, large numbers continued to come to England, Holland, Germany, and Switzerland up to the Revolution, in spite of the means taken to prevent their flight. Large numbers of lists are in existence of those suspected of contemplating flight, sent to the Intendant by the parish clergy. Vessels leaving the ports were examined and fumigated with sulphur in case of hidden fugitives. It was then that the long chain-gangs composed of men, women and children began their weary journeys, increasing in length as they neared the sea-ports, where the men were sent to the galleys, the women and children to the prisons and convents.

Here and there, in mountainous regions like the Cévennes,

and in districts where the population was largely composed of 'Nouveaux Catholiques,' there survived scattered 'assemblies,' meeting for services in caves and dens of the earth, served by pasteurs whose lives were forfeit, who paid the penalty of the galleys for life, or were broken on the wheel. Jean Calas, one of the 'Pasteurs du Désert,' was so executed in the year 1761. The wheel was not unlike a mill-wheel, with a broad surface, on which the captive was tied on his back, in the form of an arch. The executioner began by breaking first the ankles, then the shin-bone with his iron bar, the wheel being rotated in order to bring the body into position for the next blow. The *coup de grâce* was given by the last blow across the chest.

After 1685 the Parish Registers begin to contain large numbers of abjurations, not without interest to us, since many of those mentioned escaped later. The following is a typical example taken from the Parochial Registers of Antignac, in Saintonge, which contain the names of families previously Protestant, and which do not appear before 1685. 'Après cloche sonnée le peuple entré l'église, après Vêpres l'abjuration de Charlotte Fourestier, de la paroisse de Jonsac, en présence de Samuel Boybellaud, Marguerite Fourestier, etc. (1718. 20 Nov.)'

Charlotte Fourestier belonged to the family of Pierre Fourestier, pasteur of several churches in Saintonge, who afterwards escaped to Holland and was pasteur of the church at Balk, founded by Samuel Boisrond de St. Legier, Colonel of Cambon's Foot Regiment. He had escaped to England with Pierre Fontaine, brother of the Jacques Fontaine who landed at Barnstaple in 1686, and married Elizabeth Boursiquot there. Pierre Fourestier was pasteur of the 'Nouvelle Patente' in London before going to Holland. His brother, Paul Fourestier, was pasteur at Cozes in 1685, and fled to England, where he became pasteur of the Crespin Street Church, and afterwards at Canterbury. Samuel Boybellaud was a cousin of Colonel Boybellaud de Mont-Acier, who commanded a Huguenot regiment in British service.

There is a curious instance of an abjuration at Nîmes in 1664, of 'Catherine Teyssières, rencontrée par hasard, malade

et abandonnée dans une capitelle près la tour Magne, par MM. Hallay et Martin, chanoines.'

The existence of Reformed Churches in France, of which all trace has vanished, is often revealed by reference to a baptism or marriage in some *acte* or *procès* of later years. Proof of four degrees of *noblesse* was required for commissions in the army, the Royal Military Schools, St. Cyr, etc.; these sometimes give an extract from Baptismal and Marriage Registers now lost. A Franco-Scottish family of De Ramesai, or Ramsay, settled in the Beauce, sent its 'Preuves' in 1687 to d'Hozier for the admission of Charlotte-Lucrèce de Ramesai to the Maison des Demoiselles de St. Cyr. The first of these is an extract from the Registers of the R.P.R. (Religion prétendue Réformée) at Bazoches-en-Dunois. She was baptised 27 Mai 1677, 'comme huguenote,' by Jérémie Perrot, Ministre. This is probably the only remaining entry of this church. Very many of the Scottish families in the French service were Protestants in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We have another reference, to the church of Vendôme, in a pedigree of another French family of Ramsay settled near, where a marriage is given, in 1680, of Charlotte de Ramezai, aged seventeen, to Helie de la Ferrières, seigneur de la Boulai, We know, too, that the parents must have abjured, for no admission to any office was allowed to Protestants at that date; with a refined cruelty, even the profession of doctor and midwife was forbidden.

A similar extract from the Church Registers of Barbézieux, near Angoulême, is given in the 'Preuves' of Jeanne de Chièvres-Salignac, 'née 1 Mars et baptisée 23 Avril 1676 "comme huguenot" à Barbézieux, diocèse de Saintes.' The branch of Chièvres-Salignac was a branch of the family de Chièvres de Rouillac, seigneurs de Curton. The father of Jeanne de Chièvres was Jacob de Chièvres, seigneur de Salignac, near Barbézieux, and Marie le Maréchal: son of Pierre de Chièvres, seigneur de Rouillac et Curton, and Eleonore de Montalembert. Jacob and his brother, Guy de Chièvres, abjured and became Catholic. Eight other children by a second marriage of Pierre de Chièvres with Marthe de Mergey remained Protestant. Jean de Chièvres, seigneur des

Citernes, captain in the Régiment d'Orléans, fled to Holland or Germany in 1685, and was probably the ancestor of a family of that name in Germany. Renée married Pierre de Royère, minister at Coutras, and fled with him to London, where she appears in the Témoignages of Threadneedle Street. Rachel married (1) Pierre Brossard, a doctor; (2) Pierre Rossibe or Rouibe, a minister. Jeanne married Pierre de Lubersac, seigneur de Montizon; a son Pierre, seigneur de Rouillac, married Jeanne Ranson, February 18, 1655, and died before 1670; a son François, of whom nothing more is known, and a daughter Marguerite. The family of Royère migrated to Holland, and both the des Royère and des Lubersac belonged to the *ancienne noblesse* of Limousin and Angoumois. There are now no traces of the family de Chièvres in England, although it may have lost its identity in 'Chivers.' That of de Lubersac appears to have sent one at least of its members disguised in London as 'Loversack.'

Those anglicised French surnames! How many thousands of people of Huguenot descent are walking about to-day with names which have completely changed in the last 200 years. Firebrace has not entirely hidden its identity with 'Fierabras,' or Arblaster so completely changed as not to be recognised as al'Arbalestrier.' Within the last twenty years a man with the name of Scamp was tried at Canterbury for theft: he was almost certainly 'Deschamps.' And then the names which have been translated. 'Perdriau' is a French surname, and probably the family of Partridge, of Exeter, was a French one.¹ 'Paisant' has become Pheasant, and 'Rocquet' has changed to Rockett and Rocky; and 'Penyfaure' to Pennyfeather—with hundreds more. How many Potts are actually representatives of the noble and illustrious house of Pot, seigneurs de Puyagu? And would the Essex family of Wiffin be surprised if they found themselves to be descendants of de Viffin de St. Rome, in the Cévennes?

Perhaps the most pathetic entries are those of baptisms in the last twenty years or so previous to 1685. How much sorrow and tragedy is bound up in the simple words. This

¹ The name occurs in the Register of St. Mary Arches, which church was unused in 1685 and given over for service to the Refugees.

child, smiling in its mother's arms, was born to have its limbs broken on the wheel by the executioner's iron bar. That one's tender flesh will one day blacken and blister in the sun at the galleys. This little girl will faint and fall in the long march of the Chain-gang to the Ports, and die beside the road ; and that one live to endure all the horrors of the Dragonnades, as terrible as any perpetrated by the Germans in the Great War, and far worse in that they were done in the name of Christ.

But not all. For some will have gone back home again within a few short months or years, and some will escape to England and other countries. Here is one who will die Earl Ligonier of Ripley—' the finest cavalry soldier in Europe '—a British Field Marshal ; and here one from whom will spring a famous Admiral—Gambier ; and another, La Penotière, will bring the news of Trafalgar to England in the frigate *Hawke*. This one will die a prosperous London citizen, and from others will be born those who will rise high in Church and State ; a writer like Defoe, an actor like Garrick or d'Urfey ; and one will die in a Hackney coach, ' being drunk.' A great army, according to official Catholic statements 600,000—a conservative estimate. The western seaboard ' denuded of seamen ' ; money, trade, manufactures all gone, leaving France groaning under taxation, ripe for Revolution. But the measure of her loss is England's gain, and that cannot be estimated—only guessed at.

A sidelight is thrown on the losses in population and property in the town of Châtellerault alone, by which, if no other official figures were available, a tolerably good idea could be formed of the damage inflicted on France as a whole, and which is equally deplored by Catholics and Protestants alike. The Council of the town, composed of ' Anciens Catholiques,' passed a resolution on July 4, 1689, ' suppléer M. de Louvois d'épargner cette ville ' ! In 1685 (November 20) there were more than 3000 persons who professed the R.P.R. ; on January 24, 1686, ' il n'avait plus que quatre personnes que j'ai fait mettre en prison ' (Mémoire de l'Intendant Foucault). He states that there were eight persons who had escaped from the kingdom, and three very able pasteurs. He further states (in a letter

of 10 Mars 1688) : ' J'ai remarqué avec regret que les Religionnaires du Poitou *ne se sont presque tous convertis que par les dragons et la prison, et que les Nouveaux Convertis n'ont paru faire leurs devoirs de religion que par crainte de chatiment* ' ! In the same memoirs Foucault says : ' On envoit au loin dans les Couvents les Huguenots ; il ne reste en Poitou que les septuagénaires ' !

The Council of the town of Loudun, 15 Novembre 1693, states that from the year 1682 to 1692 ' il est sorti de la ville plus que 200 familles protestantes des plus riches, qui ont passé dans les royaumes étrangers en emportant la plus grand partie de leurs biens.' And Loudun was a smaller town than Châtellerault. What a triumph of statesmanship, and what a practical application of the Sermon on the Mount !

Most poignant of all—overwhelming in its pregnant meaning, now, to us who realise what it meant—is the last entry, and the concluding note by the minister, at the end of the Register (Caen) :

' Aujourd'hui 30e jour d'Octobre mil six cent quatre vingt-cinq le present Registre a este depose au greffe par moy sous-signé, Henry Morin, en obeissant à la declaration du Roy donnée à Fontainebleau date du mois d'Octobre.'

Some Notes on Sir Samuel Romilly and Étienne Dumont.

BY SIR WILLIAM J. COLLINS, K.C.V.O.

FIFTEEN years ago I had the honour of reading a paper before this Society on the life and work of my kinsman, Sir Samuel Romilly, both of whose parents belonged to French Protestant refugee families, viz. the Romillys of Montpellier and the Garnaults of Châtellerault. I had occasion to make repeated reference to the intimate and fruitful friendship which existed between Samuel Romilly and Étienne Dumont, a Swiss Protestant pastor, who, a voluntary exile for thirty years from his native Geneva on political grounds, played an effective, if unostentatious, part in the earlier stages of the French Revolution.

The lifelong friendship of Romilly with Dumont, their wonderful *affinité de cœur*, the reciprocal influence of the one upon the other, and of both upon contemporary opinion and events, have always seemed to me to deserve and demand fuller consideration and more appropriate recognition and treatment than are to be found in the scattered references or parenthetical allusions, incidentally encountered in various works.

I would that a more practised and more leisured hand, as well as a more facile pen than mine, would undertake the task; but I offer these notes as fragmentary and desultory jottings towards what I hope may be a more worthy handling of the story of this happy friendship of two great souls, set in times of surpassing interest and dramatic happenings.

Romilly and Dumont were almost of the same age, born respectively in 1757 and 1759; both were exiles from the homes of their forefathers; both were lovers of liberty alike religious and civil; both were instinct with the spirit of the

Reformation ; both were Calvinist in their upbringing, yet tolerant towards Catholicism and broad in their religious sympathies ; both were in early manhood first-hand observers of the French Revolution and intimate friends of the chief actors in the earlier stages of that amazing drama ; both deplored and were disgusted at the excesses which disgraced its later developments ; both became disciples and devotees of Jeremy Bentham and, as philosophic Whigs, gathered round the utilitarian sage at his hermitage at Westminster and added lustre to the brilliant society that shared the splendid hospitality of Lord Lansdowne at Bowood, as well as of Lord Holland in his noble mansion at Kensington. Both were members of the ' King of Clubs,' at whose symposia at the Freemasons' Tavern the Whigs met and exchanged their wit. Both were eloquent with voice and pen ; both not only made their mark on contemporary history, but also left behind them enduring records of high endeavour for the advance of humanity and the cause of public right and justice.

The life and work of Romilly are well known, thanks mainly to the three-volume autobiography edited by his sons and published some twenty years after his lamented death. Quite recently my friend, the late Mr. C. M. Atkinson, compiled (with the assistance of Mr. J. E. Mitchell) *An Account of the Life and Principles of Sir Samuel Romilly*, which he completed only a few weeks before he died in December 1920.

The life and work of Étienne Dumont are perhaps not so well known in England, and I propose to sketch them briefly, dwelling on those events and pursuits in which he and his faithful friend Romilly were associated and collaborated.

It was the Rev. Jean Roget, who in 1778 married Romilly's sister Catherine, who first brought these two kindred souls together. They met at Geneva in 1781, and a tour they took together to the glaciers of Savoy and round Lake Geneva to Vevey cemented a firm and intimate friendship. Romilly, writing thirty-two years afterwards (1813), recorded of Dumont in his diary :

' His vigorous understanding, his extensive knowledge, and his splendid eloquence qualified him to have acted the noblest part in public life ; while the brilliancy of his wit, the cheerfulness of his

humour, and the charms of his conversation have made him the delight of every private society in which he has lived ; but his most valuable qualities are his strict integrity, his zeal to serve those whom he is attached to, and his most affectionate disposition.'

So also Dumont in a letter, written but never sent, to Mr. Whishaw, Romilly's executor and the guardian of his children, after perusing the autobiography of Sir Samuel, wrote :

' On the one side we see great talents, great reputation, and ample fortune ; and on the other an obscure origin, scarcely any education, years lost—and all these disadvantages overcome by unwearied application, and by efforts constantly directed towards the same end. . . . Although his natural disposition was not without a tinge of melancholy, this had ceased at the moment of his marriage, and left only that serious turn of mind which gave weight to all his thoughts.

' I who knew him from the age of two-and-twenty could describe how vividly his flexible imagination dwelt on the pleasures derived from the beauty of nature, from literature, from the fine arts, from all the society of his friends ; and how he made all these enjoyments keep their proper place in the disposal of his time . . . above all it appears to me that no one ever saw a more perfect model of all that ought to constitute a public man in the character of a member of parliament . . . never discouraged by his want of success, but always ready to renew his defeated projects, and always entertaining the hope that reason would one day prevail.'

Such, then, was the warm mutual regard of these two friends the one for the other, and they ever ' kept their friendship in repair,' if with Goldsmith we describe friendship as ' a disinterested commerce between equals,' and say with Dryden :

' Friendship of itself a holy tie
Is made more sacred by adversity.'

It may be worth while to trace briefly the story of the intercourse of these two representative Huguenots. Having epitomised the life of Romilly in my earlier paper of 1908, I will thread my narrative on the life-history of the other of this *par nobile fratrum*.

Pierre Étienne Louis Dumont, to give him his full name,

was born in July 1759 at Geneva, where his family, of French Protestant origin, had resided since the time of Calvin. His father died while he was young. He was trained for the Protestant ministry, and was ordained in 1781. He quickly attained distinction and reputation for his pulpit eloquence. Attaching himself to the democratic (or *représentant*) party in the political strife that then divided Geneva, he shared in their overthrow and went into voluntary exile. Renouncing Genevese citizenship, he became a citizen of the world; with his contemporary, Tom Paine, he might have claimed, but without the arrogance of that 'rebellious stay-maker,' 'the world is my country—and to do good is my religion.' He joined some of his family and friends in St. Petersburg, and in 1783 became the pasteur of the French Protestant Church in that city, where for eighteen months he preached with marked success and acceptance. It was in 1781, as I have said, that Romilly and Dumont first met at Geneva. I have recently, by the courtesy of the Librarian of the University of Geneva, and with the assistance of Professor F. F. Roget, discovered two letters from Romilly to Dumont, which, though undated, must have been written about this time. In these Romilly regrets that Dumont has gone to Russia instead of coming to England and fears that he will abandon the language of Pope and Milton for 'the barbarous jargon of the Russians.' After allusions to contemporary English politics, to Fox and Pitt, he intimates, in what is presumably the later letter, that there is a vacancy for a tutorship in the family of a distinguished English statesman which he hopes may attract Dumont to this country. Both letters conclude with assurances of 'eternal esteem and affection.'

The statesman was Lord Shelburne, afterwards the first Marquis of Lansdowne, and the tutorship that of his sons, the Lords John and Henry Petty, which post was accepted by Dumont, who accordingly came to England in 1785. His duties in Berkeley Square and at Bowood at once ushered him into the literary circle of Whigs and wits to whom Lord Lansdowne played the part of Mæcenæ. Sheridan, Fox, Brougham, Lord Holland, Mirabeau, Bentham, and Romilly figured in this galaxy, and Dumont's well-stored mind, good

taste and judgment, facile speech and high character made him the welcome intimate of these illustrious men. The friendship between Romilly and Dumont became yet closer, and in 1788 they visited Paris together. With introductions from Lord Lansdowne they stepped at once, and with remarkably good fortune, into the salons of the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, Malesherbes, Lafayette, Condorcet, the Count de Sarsfield, Mallet du Pan, and Jefferson, the American Ambassador. They renewed acquaintance with Mirabeau, who, chartered libertine though he was, yet by his brilliant wit and charm captivated and dominated these young Protestant Puritans and, *more suo*, proceeded to exploit their brains.

The prudent Necker had been recalled to office, but the Assembly of the States-General was imminent, the leaven of unrest was working, and the writing was on the wall for those less blind than the gay and giddy Court and the sycophants who surrounded it. Dumont and Romilly not only visited Versailles, but, emulating John Howard, dived into dungeons and hospitals and noted the misery and neglect in which the lower orders were submerged. At Mirabeau's request Romilly wrote down his reflexions on the prison of Bicêtre and the noisome Salpêtrière, which the Count promptly published as his own—which pamphlet, however, was not less promptly suppressed by the Paris police. As to Dumont, Mirabeau appears then and there to have captured him body and soul, and for the greater part of the next three years—indeed, until the Count's death on March 31, 1791—the Genevese pasteur became the brain, the unseen but operative genius of the Revolution, feeding Mirabeau, its leading agent, not only with ideas but with words and speeches.

I will return again to the rôle of Dumont and Romilly in the French Revolution, but, to proceed with the epitome of the former's life, be it noted that the next chapter of his history, from 1791 to 1814, finds him back in England, and the devoted disciple, and something more, of Jeremy Bentham, who had been an intimate friend of Romilly since 1784, and henceforth was revered by Dumont as *La raison écrite*. In 1814 the independence of Geneva from French domination was restored, and Dumont returned to his native city, there to

apply his accumulated knowledge and experience of political philosophy to the government of the reconstituted republic, on the Council of which his sapient and lucid speeches commanded the regard and respect even of his former aristocratic opponents, as Maria Edgeworth testified in her letters from Geneva. In 1829, while on a visit to Milan, he died suddenly on September 29, having just completed his seventieth year. In his will he thanked the Almighty for his 'long and happy life in which he had been alternately cheered by the delights of study and by constant intercourse with so many beloved friends.' Sismondi wrote an obituary notice of Dumont in the *Revue Encyclopédique* (vol. 44), and de Candolle contributed one to the *Bibliothèque Universelle* (November 1829). It is from these that most of the notices in Biographical Dictionaries have been taken. It is, however, in the volume entitled *Souvenirs sur Mirabeau et sur les deux assemblées législatives* that the work and character of Dumont can be most profitably studied. This was among the unpublished writings confided by him to his nephew, M. J. L. Duval, a member of the Representative Council of Geneva, and was printed in the original French, with a preface by M. Duval, in 1832.¹ The same year appeared an English translation entitled *Recollections of Mirabeau*, published by Edward Bull of Holles Street. My friend Lady Seymour, the granddaughter of Sir Samuel Romilly, who was present when I read my paper on her illustrious grandfather, and who continues to take a keen interest in the Society's proceedings, unaware of this English edition, brought out another translation, which she entitled *The Great Frenchman and the Little Genevese*, published by Duckworth & Co. in 1904.

Dumont's life may be divided into five periods : (1) Youth at Geneva, 1759-83 ; (2) a brief pastorate in St. Petersburg, 1783-85 ; (3) his association with Mirabeau and his doings in France during the first phase of the Revolution, 1788-91 ; (4) his association with Bentham in England, 1791-1814 ; (5) the evening of his life after return to Geneva, 1814-29.

¹ See reference to L. E. J. F. Duval, son of Dumont's sister, Marie Louise Dumont, and Louis David Duval (b. 1782; d. 1863), in an article on the Pedigree of Duval, a distinguished Huguenot family, in Vol. ix, p. 117, of *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*.

It is the third and fourth periods, the French and English chapters of his life, his friendship with Samuel Romilly during those dramatic years, and the relation of both to the history of their own times, that I wish now to refer to more particularly. These two periods may be epitomised as the *Mirabeau* and the *Bentham* periods respectively, the latter of which was prosaic and dull in comparison with the highly coloured and thrilling incidents which were crowded into the three years 1788 to 1791, to which I will now refer.

For his cordial reception in Paris, Dumont says he 'was chiefly indebted' to Romilly.

'His society was much courted and, being under his auspices, I did not encounter neglect. . . . Romilly, always so quiet and measured in his motions, is yet a man of unceasing activity. . . . He devotes himself in earnest to whatever he is doing; and, like the hands of a clock, never stops, although his motions are so equal as to be scarcely perceptible. . . . Romilly communicated his activity to me, and taught me a lesson I shall never be able to make available.'

The English editor of Dumont's *Recollections* (whose identity under the initials 'G. H. C.' has, I think, not yet been established) says they contain 'the most valuable materials for history. Facts hitherto unknown, the secret causes of many great and surprising events which have hitherto eluded the acutest research of the historian, are laid open.'

Of his time in Paris with Romilly, Dumont says :

'The company we saw was so varied, the whole of our time so profitably employed, the objects we beheld so interesting, and the scene so constantly changing that in this short period I lived more than during whole years of my subsequent life.'

When Romilly and Dumont arrived in Paris in 1788, Mirabeau soon found them out. He was then in merited disfavour by reason of his litigation, his elopements, his imprisonments and his immorality. Romilly, almost ashamed of his former friendship with him, endeavoured to avoid the Count when he called, but the 'world-compeller' was not to be denied; with his most engaging blandishments he overcame all prejudices and carried off both of them to dine with him. They

made many excursions to the Bois, St. Cloud, and Vincennes, and at the latter they visited the dungeon in the château where their entertainer had been imprisoned for three years. As Dumont says :

‘ I never knew a man who, when he chose, could make himself so agreeable as Mirabeau. He was a delightful companion in every sense of the word : obliging, attentive, full of spirits, and possessed of great powers of mind and imagination. It was impossible to maintain reserve with him ; you were forced into familiarity, obliged to forego etiquette and the ordinary forms of society and call him simply by his name.

‘ . . . He could adopt every style of conduct and conversation, and, though not himself a moral man, he had [says the austere Dumont] a very decided taste for the society of those whose rigidity of principle and severity of morals contrasted with the laxity of his own.’

In 1789 France was agitated from end to end with the election of deputies to the States-General, at last to be summoned after a lapse of seventy-five years ; democracy was but in its infancy, and no one knew how to proceed with the elections. At Montreuil-sur-Mer, Dumont helped to draft regulations which enabled the election in that district to be conducted more expeditiously than anywhere else. Mirabeau, elected both for Marseilles and Aix, sat for the latter, but was at first ostracised by the Assembly and even shouted down. He retaliated in letters to his constituents, by railing against Necker and lampooning his colleagues of the States-General. Dumont took him to task for his ill-advised action, reasoned with him in a long conversation in the Trianon Gardens, pointed out to him the part his talents should secure for him on the world's stage, and concocted with him a letter to his constituents in which the Assembly was represented in a respectable and amiable light. Thus assisted by Dumont and Duroverai (another Genevese exile), Mirabeau began to re-instate himself with the Assembly, gained its ear, and rapidly achieved a position of ascendancy.

In the debate as to what the Assembly should be called Mirabeau unsuccessfully opposed the designation of ‘ National Assembly ’ in favour of ‘ The Assembly of the French People,’

and wound up with a peroration written by Dumont. The noblesse and some of the clergy were indignant and appalled at what they regarded as the presumptuous arrogance of the *tiers-état*. The troops appeared upon the scene and drove the deputies from their hall. Reassembling in the *Jeu de Paume*, they swore never to separate until they had obtained a constitution. Ordered by the King in royal session to disperse, Mirabeau, on behalf of the *tiers-état*, thundered in reply, 'Go tell your master that we are here by the power of the people, and nothing but the force of bayonets shall drive us hence,' while to his friends in private he whispered ominously 'It is thus that kings are led to the scaffold.' Paris was seething with disaffection, the fidelity of the Guards was in doubt, and the best friends of the Court were warning Louis that the troops should be withdrawn from Versailles. Then followed Mirabeau's famous speech for the withdrawal of the troops, and the address to the King with the same object. Both of these were written by Dumont and were masterpieces of sagacious advice and respectful warning; but, owing to the blind folly of the sycophants who fawned upon the King, the withdrawal of the troops was postponed until the day after the fall of the Bastille which dealt the death-blow to feudalism and autocracy.

The proceedings of the States-General and of the National Assembly were conducted in a most disorderly manner and without regard to any standing orders or rules of procedure so essential for any administrative body or legislative chamber. The Count de Sarsfield had intimated to Romilly the desirability of adopting the procedure observed in the House of Commons, and at his request, backed by Mirabeau and Dumont, Romilly set to work to draw up a complete statement on the subject and a code of standing orders. Dumont translated them into French and Mirabeau laid them before the bureau of the States-General. They dealt with the mode of putting the question, motions and amendments, procedure in debate, counting the votes, appointment of committees, etc. As the Assembly got to work the need for such orderly conduct became painfully obvious, and Romilly, writing from London, made impatient inquiry of Dumont as to what had become of

his Rules of Procedure. Alas ! his labours were thrown away on that tumultuous and riotous Assembly. 'We are not English,' they said ; 'we want nothing English,' was their disdainful retort. Their national vanity, says Dumont, was wounded at the idea of borrowing wisdom of any other people, and they preferred maintaining their own defective and dangerous mode of carrying on their proceedings. They were content to decree the principle, as they called it, and leave the *rédaction* to take care of itself. According to Dumont, it was indeed on one occasion pleasantly proposed to establish a rule that there should never be more than four members speaking at once. They neither adopted Romilly's rules nor did they observe any other. Dumont, in later years, reflecting on the pursuit by the Assembly of its precipitous path through anarchy to despotism, attributed it, among other causes, to 'the bad method of carrying on their proceedings.' 'Forms,' he said, 'are to a popular assembly what tactics are to an army.' Romilly, too, writing his autobiography in 1813, observed :

'Much of the violence which prevailed in the Assembly would have been allayed, and many rash measures unquestionably prevented, if their proceedings had been conducted with order and regularity. . . . When I was afterwards present, and witnessed their proceedings, I had often occasion to lament that the trouble I had taken had been of no avail.'

The Assembly, at first little else than a confused mob, with neither policy nor leadership, split itself into groups ; the clubs (Jacobin, Girondist, and the rest) rose to power and exerted undue influence. Mirabeau preserved an independence of parties and groups, magnificently exploiting the labours of Dumont and garnishing them with his own consummate tact and mastery. By the force of his personality he dominated all parties and sections. The address to the King for the removal of the troops, and two later addresses, written in 1790, to interpret the policy of the Assembly to the nation, entrusted to Mirabeau but concocted by Dumont, were very remarkable compositions. They are instinct with sound democratic ideals and genuine devotion to liberty, but are so framed as, if

possible, to save the monarchy from itself and from its evil counsellors. The rounded and balanced sentences appeal both to the ardent regenerators of the Constitution and to the moderation of those who were already apprehensive lest reforming zeal should outstrip prudence and discretion. The last of the three addresses hardly conceals the fear that kingly vacillation, feudal prejudices, and unbalanced revolutionary ardour were combining to precipitate a fearful catastrophe. 'We solemnly swore,' he says in the last address, 'to save the country; judge, then, of our anguish when we fear that it will perish in our hands.'

Mirabeau published a series of letters to his constituents in a journal called the *Courrier de Provence*, describing the great events which were taking place in Paris and Versailles. Many of these letters were from the pen of the ever-faithful Dumont, notably the nineteenth of the series recording the earlier phases of the Revolution. Indeed, the Count had made him promise to employ his leisure in writing a true history of these times. Romilly too wrote saying 'I don't believe there is any man living capable of doing it so well as yourself.' Dumont ominously replied in December 1789 'The harvest of events is not yet ripe.' When in 1790 he was contemplating a visit to England, Romilly wrote him expecting to see him 'quietly established in Berkeley Square writing the "History of the Revolution."'

But Mirabeau could not spare him for long; speeches were wanted on various points in the projected constitution and in furtherance of the Count's legislative efforts, often with Rousseau's doctrines as their basis. The 'Declaration of the Rights of Man' by the Assembly had to be composed, and Mirabeau transferred the task to Duroverai, Clavière, and Dumont, while Edmund Burke's weighty indictment demanded consideration and called for a less rhetorical refutation than that which had proceeded from Tom Paine. This was the last subject on which Dumont provided Mirabeau with a speech. It was 'well received by the Assembly, particularly the part about England and Burke,' as it was judiciously handled, and 'peace with Great Britain was then sincerely desired.' The same evening a friend of Dumont's said to

Madame Condorcet, pointing to him as the real author, 'This man is one of those who prefer concealing what they do to boasting of that which they have not done.'

When it became rumoured in Paris, and also in London, that Dumont was one of Mirabeau's authors, he no longer felt the same enjoyment in writing for him; he had felt, he said, considerable pleasure in being known to a small circle of friends, but was disgusted at being mentioned publicly. 'The character of a subaltern writer,' he said, 'was by no means flattering to my pride; and the idea of an influential intimacy with a man whose celebrity was not immaculate revolted my delicacy.' Moreover, the course which the Revolution was taking was out of accord with Dumont's aspirations.

'My sanguine hopes of regeneration and public good' [he says] 'had considerably abated . . . the charm had disappeared, my curiosity was satisfied, and all illusion had vanished. . . . Instead of having credit for the good I had done, and the evil I had prevented, the very excesses which I had been the first to condemn would naturally be attributed to me.'

Early in 1791 Dumont, then free, resolved to quit Paris. His parting with Mirabeau was a touching one, for he, too, had become apprehensive of the drift of things.

'I have none but direful anticipations' [he said]. 'How right we were, my friend, when at the beginning we tried to prevent the Commons from being declared a National Assembly! . . . They wanted to rule the King instead of being ruled by him; but soon neither they nor he shall govern; a vile faction will rule the country and debase it by the most atrocious crimes.'

Three months later Mirabeau was no more. He died on March 31, 1791. In less than two years Louis XVI was guillotined, the Reign of Terror staggered Europe, and the gloomy forebodings of the dying Count were amply and literally fulfilled.

Romilly attributed nearly all the good that Mirabeau achieved to Dumont, who had

'disinterestedly and magnanimously seen his compositions universally extolled as masterpieces of eloquence, and all the merit of them ascribed to persons who had not written a single word in them, and

the advantages had been shared between Mirabeau and his bookseller, the one taking the glory and the other the emolument.'

Yet the modest Genevese pasteur quaintly notes :

'When I worked for Mirabeau I seemed to feel the pleasure of an obscure individual who had changed his children at nurse, and introduced them to a great family. He would be obliged to respect them, although he was their father. Such was the case with my writings. When Mirabeau had once adopted them, he would have defended them even against me : more than that, he would have allowed me to admire them as an act of esteem and friendship for himself !'

But the indomitable energy and industry of this prince of plagiarists elicited Dumont's unstinted admiration ; in a passage quoted by Carlyle he says :

'If I had not lived with Mirabeau I should never have known what a man can make of one day, or rather in an interval of twelve hours. A day to him was more than a week or a month to others. The business he transacted simultaneously was prodigious ; from the conception of a project to its execution not a moment was lost.'

Not all those whose brains he sucked, however, shared Dumont's esteem of their exploiter ; the ill-fated Clavière called him 'a jackdaw that ought to be stripped of his borrowed plumes' ; and others asserted that all his compositions were patchwork of which nothing original would be left if each contributor took back his own. Yet Dumont declared that

'he imparted splendour to whatever he touched, by introducing here and there luminous thoughts, original expressions, and apostrophes full of fire and eloquence . . . a flash of wit, an epigram, an irony, or an illusion ; something, in short, smart and pungent which he conceived absolutely necessary to keep up the attention of his audience.'

Despite Carlyle's disparagement of Dumont's service to Mirabeau, there is no doubt that the Count knew the value of the method, the polish, and the style which the 'little Genevese' supplied. 'Style,' wrote the great Frenchman in a note to Dumont soliciting his aid—'style is as much a bait to the French as "argument" is to the English.'

Yet Dumont is probably right in his final estimate of the 'world-compeller,' who knew not the word 'impossible,' when he wrote :

'Mirabeau is the only man of whom it may be held that, if Providence had spared his life, the destinies of France would have taken another course. His death gave courage to all the factions. Robespierre, Pétion, and the rest who dwindled into insignificance before him, at once became great men.'

Romilly shared to the full Dumont's disillusionment and disappointment over the course which the Revolution took. Their early hopes and enthusiasm of 1789 were dispelled, and they confessed by 1792 that they were almost ashamed of having admired at its 'birth a cause which, during its progress, we were forced to abhor.' Thus, on July 28, 1789, Romilly had written to Dumont :

'I am sure I need not tell you how much I have rejoiced at the Revolution . . . I think of nothing else, and please myself with endeavouring to guess at some of the important consequences which must follow throughout Europe. I think myself happy that it has happened when I am of an age at which I may reasonably hope to live to see some of those consequences produced.'

On October 23, 1789, he wrote impatiently from Gray's Inn for news from Paris, with kind remembrance to the Abbé Sieyès and Mirabeau, and deplored his detention 'in so dull a place as London, where the Duke of Orleans is feasting with the Prince of Wales in ignominious safety.' But Dumont replied ominously that the horizon had become clouded, the ground volcanic, all constituted authority was weak, and the transfer of the National Assembly to Paris filled him with apprehension. Romilly was insistent that he and Dumont should together write the story of the Revolution. The projected work was to take the form of letters by a supposititious German, by name Kirkerbergher, with reflections on contemporary politics and civil and criminal law in France and England. This joint work of Romilly and Dumont, with an additional contribution by James Scarlett (afterwards Lord Abinger), was finally published in 1792 as the *Letters of Henry Frederic Groenvelt, translated from the German*.

Even in May 1792 Romilly still preserved his respect and hope for the Revolution and, despite the vagaries of the National Assembly, recorded his conviction that 'it is the most glorious event and the happiest for mankind that has ever taken place since human affairs have been recorded.' Dumont was, in the earlier part of 1792, in close touch with the Girondist leaders, and recognised their perilous position opposed alike by Royalists and Jacobins; the historian, he says, will 'deplore both their elevation and their fall.' He also saw much of Talleyrand both in Paris and in London, travelling with him between the two. His sketch of the able, complex, crafty, and time-serving character of the quondam Bishop of Autun is inimitable. He speaks of him as indolent, voluptuous, sententious, frigidly polite in public, a model of good taste in conversation, given to an intellectual epicurism, but with an impenetrable shield around his diplomatic intrigue.

After the events of August and September 1792, the Paris Massacres, the King and Queen lodged as hostages in the Temple, and the National Convention set up, Romilly writes to Dumont in a totally different strain: 'How could we ever be so deceived in the character of the French nation as to think them capable of liberty!—who after all their professions and boasts employ whole days in murdering women and priests and prisoners?' He collected all the copies of the *Letters of Groenvelt* on which he could lay hands and destroyed them. 'Yes,' replied Dumont from Bowood, 'let us burn all our books, let us cease to think and dream of the best system of legislation, since men can make so diabolical a use of every truth and every principle.'

During the sequence of tragedies and horrors which disgraced the fair name of France in the years 1792–3 Romilly and Dumont exchanged woeful letters of dismay and disgust. The execution of Louis and Marie Antoinette, the sanguinary retaliation of the Jacobins on the Girondists, the triumph of the 'Mountain,' the *noyades* of Nantes, the rise and fall of Robespierre, called forth their reciprocal lamentations and execrations. Romilly writes to Dumont at Bowood in September 1792: 'Who would have conceived that at the close of the eighteenth century we should see, in the most civilised

country in Europe, all the horrors of political proscription and religious persecution united?' Dumont, in November 1793, deploras 'that the most enlightened country in Europe is returning to a state of barbarism,' and Romilly, after the guillotining of the Queen, writes in reply: 'The French preserve nothing of the civilised life but its vices, which they will have engrafted on a state of the most savage barbarism.'

Dumont was stupefied and overwrought by the awful events in Paris and the murder of many of his friends and associates. Romilly wrote to him at Bowood in October 1793, urging him to shake off his indolence and 'do something that will be useful to posterity.' Bentham had been friendly with Romilly since 1784, and the latter introduced Dumont to the great utilitarian philosopher, then engaged on his *Civil Code*, either in seclusion at Hendon or his 'Hermitage' at Westminster, or amid the more congenial surroundings of Bowood. Lord Lansdowne repeatedly invited Romilly to his country seat, writing to him: 'I only wish you liked Bowood half as well as Bowood likes you,' while Bentham, on hearing from the ladies that Romilly had 'succeeded beyond expression,' chaffingly wrote him: 'O rare Mr. Romilly, what a happy thing it is to succeed beyond expression where a man would wish beyond expression to succeed!'

In 1796 and the following years Bentham, Romilly, and Dumont were all at Bowood: the sage was then in his fiftieth year, Romilly thirty-eight, and Dumont thirty-six. Here Romilly met and wooed and won for wife Anne Garbett, and lost his melancholy in the solace of her devoted affection. Bentham offered his hand and heart to Caroline Fox, Lord Holland's sister, and was rejected 'with great respect.' Dumont made philosophy his 'glittering bride' and, unlike Benedick, remained a bachelor; Bentham came to replace Mirabeau in his hero-worship, and, once again sinking his own personality in the advancement of another, he henceforth devoted his thought, his time, himself, to editing and interpreting the diffuse and multifarious philosophisings which fell from Bentham's writing-table like leaves in Vallombrosa.

The first-fruits of this collaboration was *Traité de la Législation Civile et Pénale*, published in Paris in 1802. To Romilly

was first assigned the task of its translation, then Eden was to undertake it, but it did not appear in English form till 1858, when the Senate of the University of London published it for the benefit of students preparing for the LL.B. degree.

Despite the attractions of Bowood, Paris still exerted a spell. The 'Terror' and carnival of blood had passed; the Revolution, like Saturn, had eaten its own children; sans-culottism had fallen, and the *jeunesse dorée* had had their day; the Directory had come and gone, the Peace of Amiens had been signed, and Buonaparte was appointed Consul for life in August 1802. The same month Romilly, Dumont, and Bentham were all in Paris. Erskine, Charles James Fox, Lord Holland, and Lord Henry Petty were also there. They met Talleyrand, Cuvier, the widow of Lavoisier, Cambacères, and many others who had figured in, but survived, the Revolution. Some of the party were presented to Napoleon, but Romilly declined, being 'disgusted at the eagerness with which the English crowded to do homage at the new Court of a usurper and a tyrant.' They visited the Place de Grève, with its scaffold and guillotine, Notre-Dame (now the Temple of Reason), the Law Courts, the Louvre, the Invalides, and other public buildings with their royal inscriptions obliterated and replaced by '*Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité*.' They went to the theatre and opera, and on September 23 (1 Vendémiaire) witnessed the illumination of the Tuileries and the Place de la Concorde in celebration of the anniversary of the Republic.

Romilly returned to Gower Street and the Law Courts, Dumont to Bentham and Bowood; and from 1802 to 1814, with rare intermissions, the latter industriously toiled, not only as the devoted disciple, but as the successful editor and interpreter of Bentham. Romilly rose rapidly to distinguished eminence at the Bar, and, having entered the Commons in 1806 as Solicitor-General to Grenville's Ministry of 'all the talents,' soon attained the front rank as a Parliamentarian and as a reformer *sans peur et sans reproche*. While sharing Dumont's regard for Bentham, he yet observed a more detached and critical attitude towards the Master, as disclosed in his article in the *Edinburgh Review* of 1817, wherein he contrasts the intricacy and uncouthness of his later works with the

perspicuousness of his earlier efforts, and adds : ' It is to the grace and style which Mr. Dumont has given him that he owes the reputation which he has acquired . . . but for Mr. Dumont Bentham's reputation might never have emerged from obscurity.' Nevertheless, Dumont's admiration suffered no abatement, and he could accord no higher praise for any principle or truth than this : '*C'est convainquant, c'est la vérité, même c'est presque Benthamique.*' The Master lived till 1832, surviving both his disciples, and Dumont wrote within a few days of his death in 1829 :

' What I most admire is the manner in which Mr. Bentham has laid down his principle, the development he has given to it, and the rigorous logic of his deductions from it. . . . No man has more the character of originality, independence, love of public good, disinterestedness and noble courage. . . . His moral life is as beautiful as his intellectual. . . . Mr. Bentham's ensign leads neither to riches nor power.'

The works of Bentham which Dumont clarified and published in French were :

1. *Traité de la législation civile et pénale* (1802).
2. *Théorie des peines et des récompenses* (1811).
3. *Tactique des assemblées législatives et Traité des Sophismes politiques* (1815).
4. *Traité des preuves judiciaires* (1823).
5. *De l'organisation judiciaire et de la codification* (1828).

During his sojourn in England, Dumont is said to have held for a time a post in the Tally Office of the Exchequer. The summer vacation was often spent with the Romillys. Thus in 1808 he was with them at Knill Court, Herefordshire, the seat of Lady Romilly's father ; and in the autumn of 1813, both Bentham and Dumont were guests of the Romillys at their place at Tanhurst, at the foot of Leith Hill, Surrey.

After his return to Geneva in 1814, Dumont was actively engaged in the government of the Republic, to which he endeavoured to apply the principles of Bentham's civil and penal codes ; nevertheless he kept up a lively correspondence with Romilly on men and affairs. In August 1815 Romilly, with his wife and family, were in Geneva with Dumont. The two

friends revisited the glaciers of Savoy where they had exchanged their early confidences a generation ago, and also took a trip over the Alps to Northern Italy. In the summer of 1817 the Romillys were once again at Bowood recalling their first accidental meeting there in 1796, and in his diary Sir Samuel, under date September, attributes all his subsequent happiness and success to the 'beloved society' of his wife. On October 2 of the same year he wrote to Dumont at Geneva telling him of this visit, and reminding him of 'the delightful walks they took together, which can never be effaced from the memory of either of us,' and also of his call upon 'his old and most valuable friend' Bentham, now installed in palatial surroundings at Ford Abbey, 'taking what he calls his antejentacular and post-prandial walks regularly every day,' with James Mill and Francis Place, the political tailor of Charing Cross, acting as attendant satellites.

In the summer of 1818 Dumont spent some months in England, visited the Romillys at Tanhurst, returning with his host to London and hearing him declared returned at the head of the poll as Member for Westminster on July 4. Bentham regarded Romilly's Radicalism as too Whiggish and, though he abstained from voting, sympathised openly with the more advanced programme of the rival candidate, Sir Francis Burdett. There was, however, no sacrifice of friendship, and it is pleasing to read an entry on almost the last page of Romilly's diary: 'July 27. Monday.—I dined at Bentham's; a small but very pleasant party, consisting of the American Minister (Mr. Rush), Bentham, Brougham, Dumont, Mill and Koe.'

But a shadow was darkening over Romilly's home: his wife's health was visibly failing. Her early summer visit to Tanhurst had not restored her strength; a sojourn at the Vale of Health, Hampstead, brought no improvement, and on September 3 Romilly took his wife to Cowes, in the Isle of Wight. On September 27 he wrote to Dumont, then staying with Sir James Mackintosh in London, inviting him to Cowes, but adding: 'Your visit will be purely of charity, for I am afraid you will meet with little pleasure in it'; he was 'apprehensive of the worst,' but convinced that 'he had resolution

enough to undergo everything.' His apprehension was too well founded; alas! not so his resolution. The last entry in Romilly's diary is 'Oct. 10. Relapse of Anne'; and on October 29 his wife died. Dumont was with him, and, along with Romilly's nephew, Dr. Peter Mark Roget, returned with him to Russell Square. But his home was desolate, his heart was broken, and on November 2 he terminated his life by his own hand. The story of the tragedy is told in a little work to be found in the British Museum, entitled *The Life and Death of Sir Samuel Romilly, M.P.*, where Dumont's deposition at the subsequent inquiry is recorded. It is there related how Dumont was overcome with grief and emotion, and adds:

'The cordial and generous sensibility which this excellent man manifested throughout the delivery of his evidence was in the highest degree affecting and impressive. From what we saw of him—from what was evident to everyone who heard him—such a man could not fail to be the friend, and he was worthy of the friendship, of Sir Samuel Romilly.'

The remaining decade of Dumont's life was spent almost entirely in his native city, devoting his energy and talents to the government and administration of Geneva, rejoicing in the recovery of her independence and of responsible representative government. He nevertheless kept in touch with his many friends in England, especially with the sister and nephew of Samuel Romilly, Mrs. Jean Roget and Dr. Peter Mark Roget. His correspondence with them, in the possession of Mr. S. R. Roget, which I have been permitted to see, bears evidence of the void created by the death of his beloved friend, and of his affectionate regard for all Sir Samuel's family and relatives. As with Tennyson after the loss of Hallam, he might have said:

'Whatever way my days decline,
I felt and feel, though left alone,
His being working in mine own,
The footsteps of his life in mine.'

With the aged Bentham he kept up correspondence, and many of the old man's wordy epistles to him I have seen in

the Library of the University of Geneva. Their last joint work, on codification, appeared only a year before Dumont's death in 1829. Thus to the end was he ready and pleased to be the author of another's fame, the architect of another's reputation.

Macaulay's verdict upon Dumont might serve as his epitaph :

'Possessed of talents and acquirements which made him great, he wished only to be useful.'

Unlike Carlyle, who damned Dumont with faint and parsimonious praise, Macaulay spoke of his 'sturdy rectitude, large charity, good-nature, modesty, independent spirit, ardent philanthropy, and unaffected indifference to money and fame,' and maintained that 'in some of the departments of the human intellect he has not left his equal or his second behind him.'

In bringing these fragmentary jottings to a close the question may naturally be asked : What was the true basis of this wonderful and delightful friendship between Samuel Romilly and Étienne Dumont—what was the bond which drew together these two natures so richly endowed and so assiduously cultivated ? May we not find it in that love of, and faith in, liberty from which, as children of the Reformation, they drew their inspiration, coupled with that genuine and unselfish devotion to the good of their fellow-men which a true conception of liberty, civil and religious, begets ? As Cowper sings :

'Tis liberty alone that gives the flower
Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume ;
And we are weeds without it.'

And as Lord Acton happily puts it : 'Liberty is not the means to the highest political end : it is the highest political end.' In Dumont's words :

'We are determined that each of our fellow citizens, to whatever class he belongs, shall enjoy the unnumbered blessings of nature and of freedom ; that the sufferers of our land shall be relieved, and a remedy applied for that discouragement with which poverty stifles virtue and industry ; and our laws, for all ranks and classes, be made our common safeguard and protection.'

Or in the yet more eloquent words of Romilly, with which I conclude :

‘ A genuine love of liberty is not a little selfish feeling confined to ourselves and to the contracted circle of our privileged associates ; it expands itself to all without distinction. . . . It is as indignant at that injustice which we see done to others, as at that which we feel pressing upon ourselves. It delights in the security of the meanest peasant in the land ; and even rejoices that it is unable to exercise, as it is secure from suffering, an unjust dominion.’

Huguenot War Record 1914-1919

(SUPPLEMENTARY.)

- BLAIR, Geoffrey Leigh. Major, 36th Sikhs. Staff, Mohmand Campaign 1915, and Persia 1916 (*Gosset*).
- ✠BRINE, Everard Lindesay. Lieut., Hampshire Regt. (T.F.). Mesopotamia 1915; in attempted Relief of Kut 1916. Died in Hamadan Hospital, Persia, of fever contracted on march to Kasvin, 24 Sept. 1918 (*Gosset*).
- BURRELL, H. P. Lieut., 101st Canadian Regt. M.C. with Clasp (*Portal*).
- BURRELL, M. Lieut., 7th Australian Infantry. Dispatches 1918 (*Portal*).
- CHAMIER, Alice Deschamps. V.A.D. Nurse, British Red Cross Society.
- CHAMIER, George Daniel. Brig.-Gen., R.A. C.M.G. Col. in charge R.G.A. records, Dover, 1914-16; Inspector R.G.A., India, 1916.
- CHAMIER, Leo Augustus. Lieut., R.F.A., and Pilot, R.A.F.
- CHAMIER, Saunders Edward. Lieut. (Acting Capt.) R.F.A. M.C. Dispatches. France and Belgium, 1915-18. Adjutant, 115th Brigade, R.F.A.
- CHAMIER, Stephen Henry Deschamps. Lieut. (Acting Capt.), West Yorkshire Regt. M.C. Dispatches. French Croix de Guerre. France and Belgium 1915-18. Wounded. Staff Capt.
- CHAMIER, William St. George. Col., Indian Army. Dispatches. O.B.E. France and Belgium 1914-15; Mesopotamia 1915-16; Mahsud operations 1917.
- CODRINGTON, Geoffrey Ronald. Major, Leicestershire Yeomanry. D.S.O., O.B.E. Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus of Italy. France and Italy 1914-18 (*Portal*).
- CODRINGTON, John Alfred. Lieut., Coldstream Guards. France 1917-18; Cologne 1919 (*Portal*).
- CODRINGTON, William Melville. Capt., 16th Lancers. M.C. France 1914-18 (*Portal*).
- ✠DUCESNE, Richard Ernest. 2nd Lieut., 7th Batt., Northants Regt. Killed in action, France, 9 Oct. 1916.
- KINGSMILL, Andrew de Portal. Lieut.-Col. D.S.O., M.C. Dispatches. France and Belgium 1914-19 (*Portal*).
- LEIGH, Leslie Studdy. Pte., Australian Imperial Force. Wounded in France, July 1916, and rendered unfit for further military service (*Gosset*).
- LEIGH, Reginald Gilbert Poingdestre. L/Corpl., Australian Imperial Force. Wounded at Gallipoli, May 1915, and rendered unfit for further military service (*Gosset*).

- McCALL, Geoffrey Harold Brincqman. Major and Squadron Commander, R.A.F. Served through the war on the Western Front (*Colbert*).
- McCALL, Hugh William. Lieut.-Col., Green Howards. C.M.G., D.S.O., Legion of Honour. Order of the Nile. Seriously wounded in first Battle of Ypres (*Colbert*).
- ✠McCALL, Maurice George Trant. Major. M.C. Order of the Stanilaus. Died from the effects of hardships suffered on the Western Front and the Murman Coast (*Colbert*).
- ✠McCALL, Robert Alfred. Lieut., Cheshire Regiment. Killed at the Battle of Loos (*Colbert*).
- MALAN, L. N. Lieut.-Col., R.E. C.B., O.B.E. East Africa (*Malan, Durand de la Fontecouverte*).
- ✠MATEER, Eric Graham. Gunner, R.F.A. Died from wounds received the previous day at Zillebeke, 13 June 1916 (*Le Gendre*).
- NICHOLSON, Claude. Lieut., 16th Lancers (*Portal*).
- OZANNE, W. M. Capt., W. Riding Regt. M.C. with Clasp. 1915 Star. Dispatches. Twice wounded (*Durand de la Fontecouverte*).
- PORTAL, Maurice Raymond. Major. D.S.O. Dispatches: France (once), Egypt (twice). France 1914-17; Palestine, 1917-19.
- ✠PORTAL, Oldric Spencer. Capt., Household Battalion. Killed in Battle of Arras, 3 May 1917.
- ✠PORTAL, Raymond Spencer. Acting Sub-Lieut., R.N. Serving in the *Invincible* at the Battle of Jutland and went down with his ship.
- PORTAL, Robert St. Leger. 2nd Lieut., R. Horse Guards; Lieut., Rifle Brigade. 1914-15 Star. In France: Loos and Hill 70; Salonika (16 months).
- PORTAL, Wyndham Raymond. Lieut.-Col., Household Battalion. D.S.O. Dispatches (four times). North of France.
- WILSON, Aubyn Harold Raymond. Lieut., 1/7 Black Watch. Served in France: Festubert, etc. Wounded 1915; subsequently on home service, Litchfield and Edinburgh (*de Marguerie de Vassy and Raymond de Layarde*).
- WILSON, Brownlow Villiers. Midshipman and Sub-Lieut., R.N. Served in H.M.S. *Iron Duke* with Grand Fleet and H.M.S. *Marksman* in North Sea (*de Marguerie de Vassy and Raymond de Layarde*).
- WILSON, Ian Charles. Capt., R.G.A. Served in India Frontier fighting and Burmah (*de Marguerie de Vassy and Raymond de Layarde*).

CORRIGENDA IN PREVIOUS LIST.

- BOSANQUET, Sir Day Hort (p. 292).
For [G.C.B., G.C.V.O., etc.] read [G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., etc.]
- CHAMIER, Frederick Thompson (p. 296).
For Lieut. France 1916-19 read Lieut., Connaught Rangers. France 1916-18.
- CHAMIER, Henry Arthur Guy (p. 296).
Add Dispatches. 1914 Star.
- ✠HALL, Norman de Havilland (p. 302).
The date of death should be 7 Oct. 1916.
- PORTAL, Gervas Edward (p. 311).
For Capt., 5th Indian Cavalry, read Capt., Berks Yeomanry; and for Services read Gallipoli; Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia in 5th Indian Cavalry 1917-18.
- WILSON, Ralph Edwin (p. 316).
Read Ralph Edwyn and for ' (*de Layarde*) ' read ' (*de Marguerie de Vassy and Raymond de Layarde*). '

A Note on the History and Aims of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français.

BY PASTEUR JACQUES PANNIER,

DOCTEUR EN THÉOLOGIE, DOCTEUR ÈS LETTRES, SECRETARY AND LIBRARIAN.

[It has been felt that the French Society and our own knew too little of each other, and that some attempt should be made to knit them more closely together. One of our Fellows has written an article explanatory of our work and aims which will appear in French in the forthcoming number of the *Bulletin*. In return the Secretary of the Paris Society sends us the following paper to show what his Society has done and hopes still to do. This I have been only too happy to make available for our Fellows by translation.—W. M.]

The Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français was founded in 1852. Guizot, historian and statesman, at that date as well known in England as in France, was named as its President, while under him served, as acting President, Charles Read.

Its first statute defines its objects—to discover, to collect, to print all material, published or unpublished, bearing on the history of the Protestant churches of French speech.

First, of course, stand the churches actually existing in France; but the objects are wide enough to include all churches of French speech existing, or having existed, elsewhere—churches, that is, of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, founded (in the last two cases after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes) by French refugees.

The badge of the Society is a sun in splendour rising over the ocean beneath a shining cross, all within a border of laurel leaves. The motto, *Post tenebras lux*.

The *Proceedings* (*Bulletin*), now in their seventy-third year

comprise a large number of unpublished documents and articles from the pens of able authors. The tone of all these is one of absolute toleration, devoid of all touch of bitterness.

The library, dating from 1866, now numbers 50,000 works—books old and new, manuscripts, minutes of synods and consistories, registers, family memoranda, letters, etc. These, housed in a building due to the munificence of the Baron de Schickler, our second President and a veritable Mæcenas, are freely available to the public, and the services of the librarian are equally at its disposal on all questions general or genealogical.¹

The Society has forwarded the production of works, such as that most valuable biographical dictionary 'La France Protestante,' of which the completion of the second edition, now long overdue, it is hoped soon to resume. The French and other allied churches have been invited to keep the yearly anniversary of the Reformation. We also marked the third centenary of the first National Synod (1859), the third centenary of the Edict (1898), and the second centenary of its Revocation (1885) by celebrations to which were bidden all kindred societies, among them your own.

The library contains further a collection of portraits, pictures, and other items illustrative of the story of the Reform, and in this connection may be noted the 'Musée du Désert,' founded near Anduze, Cévennes, by Frank Puaux, third President of the Society, and M. Hugues, an honorary officer.

Quite recently we have acquired at Noyon the site on which stood the house in which Calvin was born, with the intention of building on it a small museum for Calvin relics. Towards this object gifts, both in money and in kind, will be most welcome, both from foreign and from French sympathisers.²

The President of the Huguenot Society of London has recently, with the Presidents of certain other foreign Societies, been elected an honorary member of our Committee, and our Society admits as Fellows all donors of the sum of 300 francs.

¹ Application may be made by letter to 54 Rue des Saints Pères, Paris. Return postage should, of course, be paid in all cases, now 75 cents.

² These may be sent to the Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français, Messrs. Verner, bankers, 29 Rue Taitbout, Paris, IX^e (to credit of Account No. 2).

The annual meeting is held yearly, in 1924 on October 26 at Mazamet, when we shall hope to welcome some of our English brethren.

Our actual President is M. John Viénot, professor at the Protestant Theological College in Paris ; Vice-President, M. Edouard Rott, Commander Legion of Honour ; Treasurer, M. Henry de Peyster, one of whose ancestors took a part as a refugee in the founding of Nouvelle Avesnes, which became later New Amsterdam, and to-day is New York. M. N. Weiss, who must be well known to all as our Secretary for nigh on forty years, retired last year.

In conclusion may I express the hope that between our two Societies there may grow, day by day, a closer feeling of kinship which shall manifest itself in closer and more effective mutual help. Their aim has been from the first the same, an aim which finds its best expression in the French motto of the Scottish City of Aberdeen—*Bon-Accord*.

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